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HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF THE

RISE, PROGESS, AND DECLINE

OF

THE REFORMATION IN POLAND.

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THE REFORMATION

IN

POLAND,

AND OF

THE INFLUENCE WHICH THE SCRIPTURAL DOCTRINES HAVE EXERCISED ON THAT COUNTRY IN LITERARY, MORAL, AND POLITICAL RESPECTS.

BY

COUNT VALERIAN KRASINSKI.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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TO THE

PROTESTANTS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE,

AND OF

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

THIS WORK

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED BY

A POLISH PROTESTANT.

PREFACE.

The rapid progress and equally speedy decline of the Reformation in Poland presents to the Protestant reader a melancholy, but at the same time an instructive picture. The Protestant cause attained in that country in the course of half a century such a degree of strength, that its final triumph over Romanism seemed to be quite certain. Yet, notwithstanding this advantageous position, it was overthrown and nearly destroyed in the course of another half century. This extraordinary reaction was not effected by the strong hand of a legally constituted authority, as was the case in Italy, Spain, and some other countries; but by a bigotted and unprincipled faction, acting not with the assistance, but in opposition to the laws of the country. Such an event is perhaps unparalleled in the annals of the religious world, and is the more remarkable, as the free institutions of Poland, which had greatly facilitated the progress of the Reformation, were afterwards rendered subservient to the persecution of its disciples. The Jesuits, who defended in that country the interests of Rome, being unable to combat their antagonists with fire and sword, adopted other measures, which inflicted on

Poland more severe calamities than those which might have been produced by bloody conflicts between religious parties. As the laws of the country did not allow any inhabitant of Poland to be persecuted on account of his religious opinions, they left no means untried in order to evade those salutary laws; and the odious maxim that no faith should be kept with heretics *(hæreticis not est servanda fides)* was constantly advocated by them, as well as by other champions of Romanism in our country. But the most invariable and lamentably successful line of policy pursued by the Jesuits in Poland, was to agitate the lower classes, by means of the confessional and the pulpit, and to insure, by their intrigues with the higher ranks of society, an impunity to the excesses which an infuriated mob committed at their instigation against the anti-Romanists. Thus, many Protestant churches and schools were destroyed by riots excited by the Jesuits, and directed by the pupils of their colleges; whilst the proceedings instituted by the legal authorities, in order to punish those excesses, were rendered nugatory by the influence of their order, whose members publicly eulogized those acts of violence committed in an open breach of the laws of the country. The long reign (1587-1631) of the weak-minded and bigotted king Sigismund the Third was particularly favourable to the promotion of their schemes; and that infatuated monarch, who was entirely governed by their advice, had no other object in view than the destruction of all the opponents of Rome, and the establishment of an undivided papal domination in his states. He attained in a great measure the object of his wishes, but at the sacrifice of the most vital interests of the country. The Jesuits gained during that reign a paramount influence over the affairs of Poland, and although the pernicious effects of that influence were counterbalanced for some time by the efforts of the

Zamoyskis, the Chodkiewiczs, the Zolkiewskis, and other eminent characters, who appeared in Poland during that period, it finally produced the most fatal consequences to that country. Such were the rebellion of the numerous parties which followed the Eastern church, internal feuds, foreign invasion, and the loss of many important provinces. Yet these calamities, great as they were, may be considered as less disastrous than the moral effects produced by the withering sway which the disciples of Loyola exercised for more than a century over the national mind. They clearly saw that the surest means of extirpating scriptural doctrines was to fetter the national intellect, by means of a preposterous system of education; and they consequently introduced such a system into the public schools of Poland, which were for a long time almost exclusively conducted by them. This measure produced its natural consequences: science and literature were almost annihilated; and Poland, which had made rapid strides in every kind of improvement during the sixteenth century, instead of advancing, retrograded with equal rapidity. It was at such a price that Romanism was saved in Poland, and no country in the world affords, perhaps, a more striking illustration of the blessings which a political community derives from the introduction of a scriptural religion, and of the calamities which are entailed on a nation by its extinction; because the above-mentioned country rose in its welfare and glory with the progress of the Reformation, and declined in the same ratio as the scriptural doctrines gave way to the Roman Catholic reaction. The effects which were produced in Poland by the abolition of the Jesuits are a corroborating evidence of what we have advanced; because as soon as that incubus which paralysed the energies of the nation was removed (and great must be those energies, if they could not be crushed by such a long oppression), and

a better system of education introduced into that country, the national intellect advanced so rapidly, that during a period of about twenty years subsequent to the abolition of the Jesuits, the Polish literature produced, in spite of the most unfavourable political circumstances, more valuable works than it did during a whole century when public education was entirely conducted by them.

This reanimation of the national intellect would have exercised the most salutary influence on the religious state of the country, had it not been counterbalanced by the calamities to which Poland has been exposed in consequence of its dismemberment. This event, which should have apparently led to the extinction, or at least to the decrease of the national spirit, produced quite a contrary effect, and created throughout all parts of ancient Poland a strong feeling of nationality ; a feeling which could not be quenched even by all the unsuccessful attempts made by the Poles at recovering their political existence, and which have hitherto ended in bitter disappointment and renewed disasters. The best evidence of the energy of that feeling, which seems to prosper by storm and acquire new vigour from oppression, is the remarkable fact, that literature, which is the truest expression of the national mind, rose in Poland since its dismemberment, and notwithstanding the most unfavourable circumstances, to a degree of eminence which it had never before attained during the time of its political existence. The violent excitement created by that feeling, and which engrosses the national mind by one dominant idea—the restoration of the national independence—excludes every other consideration which is not immediately connected with that all-absorbing subject; and therefore, as long as Poland continues in her present condition, it is almost impossible to expect that public opinion should be seriously directed towards ecclesiastical affairs in that country,

although many individuals of the same country become every day more impressed with the importance of that subject. We do not, however, entertain any doubt that, should once the political excitement which now universally prevails in Poland be set at rest, by the attainment of the great object which creates that excitement, the national mind will turn with the same fervour as it did during the sixteenth century towards religion, and accomplish the great work of the Reformation, which was prevented at that time by a concurrence of unfortunate circumstances. As Christians and Poles, we humbly pray to God, and hope from his mercy for the religious and political emancipation of our country; and as Providence creates nothing in vain, we firmly believe that it has not implanted in the hearts of the Polish nation that strong feeling to which we have alluded, and which has caused so much suffering to that nation, without an adequate purpose. We therefore hope and trust that the Almighty, after having prepared our nation by the severe trials to which, in his inscrutable ways, he has submitted us, will finally relieve it from its unfortunate condition, and give to it the grace of becoming in his hands a useful instrument for promoting the knowledge of the word of God, which is the only true foundation of the present and future happiness of mankind; particularly amongst the numerous populations of the Slavonian race, amongst whom that knowledge had already been strongly manifested, even before the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

Although the Jesuits were chiefly instrumental in defeating the cause of the Reformation in Poland, they would never have succeeded in their object, had not the Protestants themselves greatly contributed to the triumph of their enemies, by committing many grave errors. The unfortunate jealousy and ill-will which the Lutherans constantly

evinced against the united churches of the Helvetian and Bohemian confessions, at a time when it was necessary to lay aside all the minor differences which divided the Protestants amongst themselves, in order to act with united forces against Romanism, the common enemy of all, produced deplorable consequences to the Protestant cause in Poland. But nothing did so much harm to the same cause as the anti-Trinitarian doctrines, which rose amidst the Helvetian churches of that country. The errors with which they infected many reformed churches, not only altered the purity of their doctrine, and increased dissension amongst Protestants; but they deeply injured the most powerful arm by which the cause of the Reformation was, and always will be promoted, the searching of the Scriptures. Many persons, terrified by the boldness of the anti-Trinitarian speculations, were seduced by the Romanist doctrine into the belief, that the study of the Scriptures ought not to be allowed to all Christians, as being dangerous to the purity of their faith, and consequently remained in the Roman Catholic communion, which they were on the point of abandoning; or even having already abandoned that church, returned into its pale, preferring that persuasion, in spite of its acknowledged errors and abuses, to a philosophical school, which reasoned away revelation itself, and reduced Christianity to a mere code of ethics. It is almost superfluous to add, that one unavoidable consequence produced by such a school was religious indifference, and that such indifference was destructive to a party, whose followers were constantly tempted to desert it by every kind of seduction on one hand, and persecution on the other, as was the case with the Protestants in Poland.

It is a remarkable fact, that the history of the Reformation in Poland has been hitherto not only neglected in our country, but even generally considered as being of minor

importance to its general history. Many superior writers, who treated of the history of Poland, scarcely paid any attention to the influence which the doctrines of the Reformation exercised on our country, and which, according to our opinion, was of the greatest moment. These doctrines were professed by the most eminent nobles of the land; they were discussed by frequent and numerous synods; and the churches where they were preached, the schools where they were taught, as well as the presses devoted to their propagation, flourished over all Poland in great numbers;* whilst their disciples were able to muster in battle array forces sufficient to keep in check those of the Romanists. It is therefore evident, that a party which was so powerfully represented could not but exercise an adequate influence on the affairs of the country; and the contrary opinion about its importance may be chiefly ascribed to the circumstance, that when the Protestant cause began to decline, the Romanists carefully sought to destroy all records which had any relation to the doctrines of the Reformation. The Jesuits invariably exacted from the families which had relapsed into Romanism the surrender of all books and documents connected in any way with their former persuasion, and which they always committed to the flames. They even purchased at a high price similar documents wherever they could get them, in order to devote them equally to destruction.

Notwithstanding those auto-da-fés of Protestant records in Poland, there are, we think, sufficient materials for composing a complete history of the Reformation in that

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* The celebrated Jesuit Skarga, who lived at the end of the sixteenth, and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, complains that more than two thousand Romanist churches were converted into Protestant ones.

country: but, unfortunately, they are not all within our reach, and we have therefore been obliged to make use of such only as those to which we could get access. Many printed books and manuscripts relating to that subject must be contained in the imperial library of St. Petersburgh, which was formed from the spoliation of the library of Zaluski,* at Warsaw, and which was particularly rich in works relating to that subject, as the learned founder of that library, bishop Joseph Andreas Zaluski, intended to write a work on the religious history of Poland. The library of prince Adam Czartoryski, at Pulawy, contained also splendid materials for the religious and literary history of Poland; but a part of it was seized in 1831 by the Russians, and carried to St. Petersburgh, whilst a part, and we have reason to think the most valuable, was saved, and is now in the estates of the prince in Austrian Poland. The library of the University of Warsaw, which contained about 200,000 volumes, was also transferred to St. Petersburgh after the events of 1831; and we may therefore consider that capital as containing the richest store of materials for the religious, political, and literary history of Poland.

There are still three public libraries within the limits of ancient Poland, which may afford considerable information to the historical student of that country, but of which, distance and other circumstances precluded us from deriving any advantage. The first of them which is at Leopol (capital of

* The library Zaluski, so called from the name of two learned bishops, brothers, who collected it at great pains and expense, was considered one of the best in Europe. The patriotic prelates to whom it belonged, made a present of it to the public; but after the final dismemberment of Poland in 1795, this library was seized by the Russian Government, and transported to St. Petersburgh. This act of spoliation was effected in a very careless manner, and a great many valuable works were lost on that occasion.

Austrian Poland), is called the Institute of Ossolinski, having been collected and bequeathed to the public by count Maximilian Ossolinski, whose learned researches, contained in his biographical and literary notices on several ancient Polish authors, have thrown a great deal of new light on the history of our country, and of which we had an opportunity of availing ourselves. This institute possesses many rare and important books relating to our subject; and we sincerely hope that, under the superintendence of its present learned and patriotic trustee, prince Henry Lubomirski, it will be instrumental in promoting historical information not only about Poland, but also other Slavonian countries. The second of these libraries is that of the University of Cracow, which was a long time superintended by the learned George Samuel Bandkie, author of several valuable compositions on the history of Poland. His death (in 1835), was a great loss to historical science, and is particularly to be lamented, as he intended to write a work on the same subject that we have now attempted to treat; and which, considering his means of information and known talent, would have undoubtedly been infinitely superior to a composition of such modest pretension as this we venture now to offer to the English public. The third of these above-mentioned libraries is at Posnania (capital of Prussian Poland), and it was founded some years ago by count Edward Raczynski, who has by that public-spirited action deserved the gratitude of every lover of national literature. We have great hopes that this establishment will be particularly conducive to the advance of information relating to the history of the Reformation in our country, as it is entrusted to the care of the learned Mr. Joseph Lukaszewicz, who supported by the noble founder of the above-mentioned establishment, has already made extensive and valuable researches on that

subject, which he has embodied in his history of the Bohemian churches in Grand-Poland, and his account of the Protestant churches in the town of Posnania, two excellent contributions to the general history of the Reformation in Poland, from which we have derived considerable assistance in the composition of the present work. We sincerely hope, that Mr. Lukaszewicz will continue his useful labours, and that we shall see at a no distant date, a comprehensive history of the Reformation in our country, from his able pen.

Although the present work may be considered as the first attempt at writing a general history of the Reformation in Poland, many compositions on that subject have been published in different languages. Among the best, may be considered *Historia Reformationis Poloniæ*, by Lubienietzki, a Socinian writer, and *Historia Ecclesiarum Slavonicarum*, by Wengierski, a clergyman of the reformed church, who is also known under his assumed name of Regenvolscius. Both these works, written in the seventeenth century, contain much valuable information, but give no comprehensive view of the subject they treat of; and the former of them naturally evinces a Socinian bias. Friese published in 1786, in German, one volume of the ecclesiastical history of Poland, and two of contributions to the history of its Reformation; but it is to be regretted that the deep research, and indefatigable industry in collecting facts by which his work is distinguished, are somewhat injured by his bigotted partiality to Lutheranism. It would, however, be tedious and uninteresting to the generality of our readers, if we were to enumerate all the sources which we have made use of in writing the present sketch, and which we have consulted chiefly in the library of the British Museum, which contains an extensive store of books relat-

ing to Poland not only in Latin, but likewise in the national language of that country.* There are also some rare and valuable works relating to our subject in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, the access to which was kindly permitted to us by its librarian; and we have derived great assistance from the splendid collection at Kensington Palace, an unreserved use of which was most liberally granted to us by his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, and we seize this opportunity humbly to acknowledge our deep sense of gratitude for this, as well as many other proofs of kindness, with which his Royal Highness has honoured the author of this essay. We received also from the libraries of Paris many important extracts, which were furnished to us by a literary friend, with whom we were conjointly engaged on some literary labours in Poland, before we were cast on the hospitable shores of Great Britain, by the events which agitated our unfortunate country in 1831. We owe to the same friend, whom we are not authorised now to name, not only the above-mentioned extracts, but have obtained, from his indefatigable researches and great erudition, the most valuable assistance in London; and we freely confess that, if it had not been for this assistance, our work would have been even more imperfect than it is at present.

A history of the Reformation proper, should perhaps begin only from the time when its doctrines were proclaimed by Luther and Zuinglius; but it would have been impossible to account for the causes which facilitated the progress of these doctrines in our country, without giving a sketch of its state previously to that momentous revolution. We

* The library of the British Museum possesses almost all the works of the best Polish authors, which were presented to that library by Prince Adam Czartoryski.

have therefore devoted the first or introductory part of the first volume to the delineation of the period from the introduction of the Christian religion to the accession of king Sigismund the First, (965-1508.) We have attempted to analize in that part of our work, the causes which prepared the ground for the Reformation of the sixteenth century in Poland, and which were the opposition of the national or Slavonian churches to the Roman ritual and discipline; the free institutions of the country, and the doctrines of Huss, widely circulated in Poland during the fifteenth century. In the second part of the same volume, we have tried to sketch out, firstly, the reign of Sigismund the First (1508-48), which was marked by the rapid spread of Lutheranism in Polish Prussia; by its violent but temporary suppression occasioned rather by political than religious motives, and by the silent but active working of Protestant doctrines amongst the upper classes of society, which produced their powerful manifestation in the ensuing reign. Secondly, the reign of Sigismund Augustus (1548-1572), during which the doctrines of the Reformation attained in Poland their full development; and we have successively described the abolition of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic church in its civil effects, by which the greatest barrier against the progress of the Reformation was removed; the establishment of the three Protestant churches, *viz.* the Reformed or Helvetian, the Bohemian and the Lutheran, as well as the union effected amongst these churches, and the rise and progress of anti-Trinitarianism. We have concluded this volume with the demise of Sigismund Augustus, whose leaning towards the doctrines of the Reformation was evident, and whose untimely death seems to have chiefly prevented their final triumph in our country. The second and last volume of this work will be devoted to the melancholy description of the decline of

the Reformation in Poland under the Romanist reaction, and of the deplorable consequences which it produced in our country.

Although we have carefully abstained from making use of passionate language, wherever we expressed our condemnation, either of the unprincipled proceedings which were employed for the destruction of the cause of the Reformation in our country by its enemies, or of the faults and errors by which its own partisans injured it, we are afraid that we may have sometimes unwillingly given utterance to the bitter feelings with which our breast was frequently agitated, in describing the religious and political disasters of our country. We therefore request the forgiveness of our readers, and beg them to consider for a moment, what must have been the state of feelings of one who, educated by a pious mother in the tenets of scriptural religion, and taught from his earliest infancy to consider that religion as the only true foundation of his present and future happiness, and the love of his native land as a sacred duty commanded by its precepts; of one who, being strongly impressed by those sentiments, was recording the overthrow of his religion, and the consequent decline and fall of his country. At the same time, we most solemnly disclaim every hostile or unkind feeling against the followers of the Roman Catholic church, amongst whom we have many dear friends and relatives. Although we were born and bred in the reformed church of Poland, a great part of our family are Roman Catholics, and to this circumstance united with some others, it is owing that, in our country, we have associated much more with the Roman Catholics than with Protestants; and we positively declare, that we have never experienced from them the slightest act of unkindness on account of our religious persuasion. The Roman Catholics of Poland are certainly the most liberal,

and less bigotted of all in Europe; and it will be our pleasing task to enumerate instances of Roman Catholics, not only laymen, but even prelates of their church, who, animated by patriotic sentiments, have defended the rights of their Protestant countrymen.

We should perhaps apologise for our presumption in attempting to write in English; but the few performances which we have ventured to publish anonymously in the same language have been received with so much forbearance, that nothing remains to us but to request the English public to extend the same forbearance to the present work.

Fortunate, indeed, shall we consider ourselves, if this imperfect attempt of ours to delineate the history of the Reformation in our country will inspire the English reader with additional motives to bless Providence, and feel more grateful for the invaluable boon which it has conferred on the British nation, by the spread of the knowledge of the word of God; and if it serves to increase that sympathy which the free-born Britons have so strongly manifested for the misfortunes of our country—a country which was for a long time the bulwark of Christendom against the infidels, and the sons of which have on many occasions supported by their swords the cause of scriptural religion against the oppression of Rome.

London,
September 18, 1838.

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HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF THE

REFORMATION IN POLAND.

PART I.

FROM THE INTRODUCTION OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION TO THE REFORMATION OF LUTHER.

Establishment of the Christian religion in Poland.

THE generally admitted opinion, founded on the evidence of ancient chronicles, is, that on the 5th March 965 Mieczyslaw* the First, duke of Poland, received the sacrament of the holy baptism, having been induced to take that step by the persuasions of his consort, the Bohemian Princess Dombrovka, and that he abolished idolatry and established Christianity throughout his domi-

* Pronounced Miecheeslav; it signifies in Slavonian the sword of glory. The Slavonian names have generally a signification, as for instance: Vladislav, the ruler of glory; Stanislav, the establisher of glory; Kasimir, destroyer of peace; Vladimir, ruler of peace; &c.

nions. Yet it is neither agreeable to the nature of things, nor can it stand the test of a sound historical criticism, that a nation should on a sudden change the worship of its ancestors for a new although enlightened religion, without having been long previously prepared for that mighty revolution, by a continual and successive instillation of the new doctrines. However lax and unsystematical the tenets of the northern idolaters in general were, we see them in every country offering more or less resistance before they yielded to the influence of the light of the gospel. Their opposition was always the most stubborn wherever the doctrines of Christianity were introduced by the strong hand of temporal authority, instead of being propagated by ministers of the Gospel deserving of that name. Indeed we always see, that a few missionaries, destitute of worldly power and riches, but animated by the spirit of Christian meekness and charity, have more easily overcome the obstinacy of the pagans than all those mighty monarchs who tried to convert by the arguments of fire and sword, either their own subjects or conquered nations.

It is improbable that Poland should form an exception to that general phenomenon ; and indeed there is sufficient historical evidence, that the rays of the Gospel, which in the ninth century enlightened many Slavonian nations, had penetrated into Poland long before the conversion of

Mieczyslaw. There are also facts which prove, that after the Christian religion had become the persuasion of the rulers of the country, the ancient idolatry continued for some time to struggle against the domination of the cross before it became totally extinct.

Introduction of Christianity amongst the Slavonian nations accomplished under peculiar circumstances.

We cannot speak of the introduction of the Christian religion into Poland, without slightly mentioning the manner in which the doctrines of the Gospel were manifested amongst the great family of the Slavonian* nations, of which the Poles constitute a most important branch. The circumstances under which that great moral revolution was effected are peculiar, and different from those under which the conversion of the generality of European nations was accomplished;

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* We have adopted this manner of spelling instead of Sclavonians, generally used by the English writers. There are two opinions about the origin of their name; one, that it is derived from *slava* (glory), and the other that it proceeds from *slovo* (word). This last opinion is supported by the circumstance, that the name given to Germans by all Slavonian nations is Niemietz, which is synonimous with dumb. It is supposed, therefore, that the Slavonians, who call themselves not only *Slavianie*, but *Slovenie*, literally *worders*, gave to themselves this name, believing to be exclusively gifted with the use of the word, whilst they called foreigners, whom they were unable to understand, *Niemietz*, or dumb. The Byzantine writers, who corrupted the names of all nations, called the Slavonians Σκλαβηνους or Σκλαυηνες; hence the English *Sclavonians* and the French *Esclavons*.

and indeed, in the very beginning of the Christian religion amongst the Slavonian nations, although converted under the influence of the Popes, were already sown the germs of an opposition to the power of Rome, at least in matters of discipline and outward form of worship. This opposition, which constantly manifested itself with more or less success, prepared the ground for the reformation of Huss,—a reformation which certainly would have been not less powerful and extensive than that of Luther, if the mighty engine of the press had been already invented, and could have been used for the speedy propagation of the holy scriptures.

Extent of the Slavonian possessions in the ninth century.

At the beginning of the ninth century the Slavonians inhabited a most extensive tract of eastern Europe. Their possessions extended from the Black Sea along the Danube, and to the south-west of that river, on the shores of the Adriatic, occupying the ancient Roman provinces of Pannonia, Dacia, Illyria, and Dalmatia; from the northern point of the Adriatic, the Slavonian settlements continued bordering on the Tyrol and Bavaria to the upper part of the Elbe, occupying the country between that river and the Saala as well as all the right bank of the Elbe, extending over the southern shore of the Baltic from Jutland to the mouths of the Vistula; from the Vistula (with the exception of the coast of the Baltic, inhabited by another race) the Slavonians were

spread over all the country situated between that river and the Danube. Thus they possessed the immense tract of land which now constitutes the greatest part of the Austrian dominions—as Hungary, the provinces bordering on Italy and the Tyrol, Bohemia and Moravia, a great part of Saxony, the March of Brandeburg, Silesia, Pomerania, and the isle of Rugen were included in the Slavonian possessions; the territory which had constituted ancient Poland as well as a great part of the Russian empire in Europe, completed the dominions of that immense race, which even now is supposed by the ablest geographers to comprehend a population of about 70,000,000 souls.

Their form of government, manners, and religion.

This numerous race, divided into many tribes, existed, according to contemporary authors, under republican or popular forms of government. However, it seems that they generally acknowledged the sway of hereditary or elected chieftains, who governed with the consent of national assemblies called Viecha, and exercised more or less limited powers delegated to them by the abovementioned assemblies. The Slavonians are described by the Byzantine writers,* who observed them on the borders of the Danube, as well as by the German missionaries† who cultivated an inter-

* Emperor Mauritius and Procopius.

† Adam of Bremen, Vita Sancti Ottonis; Helmoldus; Dittmar of Merseburg, &c.—Adam of Bremen says of the Slavonians, "*Moribus et hospitalitate nulla gens honestior.*" The same

course with those that inhabited the shores of the Baltic, as devoted to agricultural pursuits, mild and domestic in their manners, brave but peaceful, hospitable to strangers, and devout in the worship of their idols.

The Slavonian mythology rivals in beautiful imagery that of ancient Greece, while it is free from the gross impurity by which the latter of them is tainted; and the moral precepts which were taught by the religion of the Slavonians seem to be far superior to all those which were inculcated by the idolatrous creeds of the rest of Europe.

However interesting might prove an inquiry into the origin, manners, religion, and history of this immense race, so little known in this country, neither the limits nor the nature of the present work permit us to make such a digression. We therefore return to our immediate object, which is the conversion of the Slavonian nations.

Traditions about St. Andreas' visit to the Slavonian nations.

There is an ancient tradition which says, that already Saint Andreas, the apostle, preached the gospel to the Slavonians, having penetrated as far as the spot where the town of Kiof was afterwards built.* Although there is nothing

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same author in describing the Slavonian town Julin, or Vineta, situated on the shores of the Baltic at the mouth of the Oder, says, "*Nihil non habet jucundi aut rari.*"—Vide Dobrowski Slavin.

* Nestor relates this event as a mere tradition; he has probably taken it from some Byzantine writer.

improbable in this tradition, there is neither any historical evidence to prove his missionary voyage, nor are there any traces of Christianity being spread in those parts at such an early period. We must consequently pass over all those times, about which we can only make vain conjectures, and arrive at the ninth century, which is the epoch when the reign of the gospel was finally established amongst our Slavonian ancestors.

Traces of Christianity amongst the Slavonians as early as the seventh century.

It is impossible to admit that the Slavonians, bordering on such an extensive line of frontiers, with the Christians of the east and the west, had remained totally ignorant of the truths of the gospel. There were, indeed, many conversions amongst them, naturally effected by the frequent intercourse, in war and peace, with the Christians. But although those conversions seem to have been extensive already in the seventh century, as the Sixth Synod of Constantinople, held in 680, numbers the Slavonians amongst the Christian nations,* and an individual of that nation occupied the patriarchal see of Byzantium in 766;† yet it does not appear that Christianity had been established by any Slavonian nation as a dominant religion previously to the middle of the ninth century. It was

* Vide J. Amos. Comenius. Ratio disciplinæ Amstelodami, 1660.

† Theophanes, Cedrenus, Zonaras, &c. apud Stritter, *Memoriæ Populorum*, &c., vol. ii. page 80.

about that time that the Bulgarians, who inhabited the banks of the Danube and had a constant and immediate intercourse with Constantinople, became converted by Greek missionaries. The conversion of great Moravia was completed by Cyrillus or Constantine and Methodius, two brothers, natives of Thessalonica, well versed in the Slavonian language, who were sent by the Greek emperor Michael the Third to Moravia, at the request of the monarch of that country. Nestor, the most ancient of the Slavonian chroniclers, positively says, that the inhabitants of Moravia had already been baptised before the arrival of Methodius and Cyrillus and that they were called in, particularly in order to translate the Scriptures into the Slavonian tongue.*

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* The Moravian princes Rostislav, Sviatopolk, and Kotzel sent to the emperor Michael, and said : " Our land is baptized, but we have no teachers who would instruct us and translate for us the sacred books. We do not understand either the Greek or the Latin tongue—some teach us one thing and some another; therefore we do not understand the meaning of the Scriptures, neither their import. Send us teachers who might explain to us the words of the scripture and their meaning." When the emperor Michael heard this, he called together his philosophers, and told to them the message of the Slavonian princes, and the philosophers said : " there is at Thessalonica a man named Leon; he has two sons who know well the Slavonian language, and are both clever philosophers." On hearing this, the emperor sent to Thessalonica to Leon saying : " Send to us thy sons Methodius and Constantine;" which hearing, Leon directly sent them, and when

They effected that important work to the great satisfaction of the Slavonian population ; "and the Slavonians rejoiced on hearing the greatness of God related in their own tongue," says Nestor. The papal records prove also that Moravia belonged to the spiritual authority of the archbishop of Passau about 820—30. The archbishop of Saltzburg consecrated in 836 the church of Nitra, a town situated in Hungary but belonging at that time to great Moravia. But the Moravian Slavonians seem to have entertained a strong aversion to a mode of worship which was introduced by the Germans, with whom they were constantly at variance, and which prevented them from addressing the Supreme Being in the language of their fathers.

It is generally asserted that Cyrillus and Methodius, in translating the Scriptures, invented the Slavonian letters, which even in our time continue to be in use, and are known under the name

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when they came to the emperor he said to them : "The Slavonian lands have sent to me requesting teachers that might translate for them the holy scriptures." And being persuaded by the emperor, they went into the Slavonian land to Rostislav, to Swiatopolk, and to Kotzel. And having arrived, they began to compose a Slavonian alphabet, and translated the Acts of the Apostles and the Gospels, and the Slavonians rejoiced hearing the greatness of God in their own language. After which they translated the Psalter, and the Octoik, and the other books. —Vide *Annals of Nestor,* original text, edit. St. Petersburg 1767, pages 20-23.

of Cyrillian letters. Nevertheless we have sufficient reasons to believe that the Slavonians were acquainted with the use of letters, and possessed of a no inconsiderable degree of civilisation even before their conversion to Christianity.* And indeed, whatever may have been the talents of Cyrillus and Methodius, it is almost impossible to

* There is no doubt that many Slavonian nations were acquainted with the use of letters previously to the introduction of the Christian religion, but it is impossible to ascertain whether those letters were peculiar to the Slavonians or borrowed from other nations. The ancient chronicles of Bohemia speak of legislative tables (deski pravodatne) in the seventh century. Vide Palacki's *Geschichte von Böhmen*, vol. i. page 182. The ancient Slavonian name for a wizard, *Czarnokniznik*, signifies literally one *occupied with black books*, which leads to the supposition that the Slavonian conjurers made use of certain scriptures in performing their incantations. Martinus Gallus speaks of Polish chronicles previously to the introduction of the Christian religion, which were destroyed by the Christian missionaries. According to Dittmar of Merseburg, who lived in the eleventh century, the Baltic Slavonians had idols with inscriptions. The Slavonian idols which have been found in the duchy of Meclemburg had Runic inscriptions. The Cyrillian alphabet is used now, with some alterations, in Russia, Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia. It is nothing but the Greek alphabet with the addition of some new letters in order to express such sounds in which the Greek language is deficient. The evidence of Byzantian authors on this subject, which is not correct, may be found in Stritter's *Memoriæ Populorum*, vol. ii. page 964. The Dalmatian Slavonians have a separate alphabet called the *Glagolite*, the invention of which has been erroneously attributed to Saint Hieronymus, because during his life-time there were no Slavonians in the Roman empire.

admit that a translation as perfect as that they have accomplished, could be made in a language hitherto entirely uncultivated.

The Byzantine writer Procopius, who lived in the sixth century, and the celebrated biographer of Charlemagne Eginhard, who wrote in the eighth, agree in stating that all the Slavonian nations made use in their times of the same language. This opinion is corroborated by the evidence of Nestor, who flourished in the eleventh century,* as well as by the fact that the bible of Cyrill and Methodius is still in use amongst all the Slavonian nations following the tenets of the eastern church, and that the same nations have also preserved the language of that bible in the performance of divine service. It is probably owing to that universality of a common idiom, that the labours of Cyrillus and Methodius obtained a rapid success amongst all the Slavonians.

Relations of Cyrillus and Methodius with Rome, and disputes about the worship in the national language which they established amongst their Slavonian converts.

It was just the time of the disputes between the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Pope, which led to the final separation of the western from the eastern church. Amongst many reasons of quarrel, the domination over the newly converted Slavonian nations was a no inconsiderable subject of contest between Constantinople and Rome. It is clear that Cyrillus and Methodius,

* Procopius apud Stritter, tom. xi. page 29, s. 18. Eginhard apud Dobrowski Slavin, *annals of Nestor* original text, edit. of St. Petersburg 1767, page 23.

although they introduced amongst their new converts the rites of the oriental church, and performed divine service in the vernacular tongue, acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope; because we see them receiving an approbation of their pious labours from Pope John VIII., before whose tribunal they were called in order to give an explanation of their procedings.*

The readiness with which that Pope approved a mode of worship to which his successors have only sometimes reluctantly assented, was probably

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* And some persons began to blame the Slavonian Scriptures, saying that it does not become any nation to have its own alphabet except the Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Latins, according to the inscription of Pilate, which he wrote on the cross of our Lord. But the Roman Pope having heard this, rebuked those who murmured against the Slavonian scriptures, and said, "Let the words of the scripture be fulfilled, and all the nations praise God."—Vide Nestor *loco citato.* The Pope, in permitting the use of the vernacular tongue, ordered that the gospel should be read before in Latin, and then in Slavonian. "*Jubemus ut in omnibus Ecclesiis propter majorem honorificentiam evangelium Latine legatur, et post, Slavonica lingua translatum in auribus populi Latina verba non intelligentis annuncietur, sicut in quibusdam ecclesiis fieri videtur.* Vide Schlözer et Stredowski, *Moraviæ Sacra Historia,* apud Friese Beyträge zur Reformations geschichte in Polen, t. 1. *Cyrillus et Methodius lingua Græca et Slavica prompti, evocati Romam et inquisiti cur in lingua Slavica divina celebrarent et non in Latina. Romanus Pontifex permisit, ut lingua Slavica celebranda laudaretur Deus, qui mos ad tempora mea,* (1506,) *circa Cracoviam in ecclesia Sanctæ Crucis observatus, sed jam extinctus est.*—Matthæus de Miechow, in lib. i. cap. 13.

caused by his fear that, in the pending contest between himself and the Greek patriarchs, the Slavonian missionaries might, in case of refusal, withdraw their obedience from the Roman pontiff and transfer it to his opponent. Be this as it may, Cyrillus and Methodius (who became archbishop of Moravia) continued all their lives to propagate the Gospel, ordaining priests, and administering sacraments according to the rites of the oriental church, and performing divine service in the vernacular tongue, notwithstanding many obstacles they were obliged to overcome in following that wise course.

Their influence on Poland.

These holy men limited not their apostolical labours to Moravia, but extended them to other Slavonian countries. They completed the conversion of Bohemia in 871, and introduced there the Slavonian worship, which lasted in that country till 1094, when it was entirely abolished by the influence of Rome.* It is even supposed that they themselves visited Poland, and there is no doubt that their disciples were very active in that country.†

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* Vide Palacky's *Geschichte von Böhmen.* The Slavonian sacred books were destroyed by the Romanists.

† "*Qui nos per beatos Pontifices et confessores tuos, nostrosque patronos Cyrillum et Methodium ad unitatem Fidei Christianæ vocare dignatus es.*" *Officia patronorum regni Poloniæ. Antverpiæ,* 1637. These words seem to imply that Methodius and Cyrillus were chiefly instrumental in converting Poland. The diocese

We have in our history a legend of king Piast, who founded a dynasty which reigned in Poland till the middle of the fourteenth, and continued to rule in Silesia and Pomerania as late as the seventeenth century.

It is said that this Piast, a common farmer and wheelwright, lived near Krusvitza, the ancient capital of Poland, and was renowned for his virtues, and particularly his great hospitality.—One day, when he was sitting with his wife before the door of his cottage, two angels in the disguise of travellers presented themselves to request his hospitality. Piast received with the utmost kindness the strangers, who in departing made themselves known to their host, and predicted his speedy elevation to the throne of his country. Soon after the reigning family became extinct, and Piast was elected monarch by general acclamation, as the most virtuous of his nation. We are strongly inclined to suppose, that those angels were no others than Christian missionaries, who on account of their doctrines, so much above the morals of the idolaters, were considered by them as beings of a nature superior to humanity. We are confirmed in this opinion by the simple statement of an early chronicler,* who plainly

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diocese of Przemysl, in Austrian Poland, honours till the present day Methodius and Cyrillus as the founders of the Christian religion in those parts.

* Martin Gallus.

calls them strangers *(hospes)*, without observing any thing marvellous and supernatural in their appearance. It may be that they were the identical Cyrillus and Methodius, who in their apostolical peregrinations could have been easily induced to visit a man enjoying a high reputation in the country.

We trust that our readers will pardon us this digression into the land of romantic tradition, and we again return to facts averred by the most credible records of those times.

Causes of the extraordinary success which attended their apostolical labours.

The extraordinary success with which the apostolical zeal of Cyrillus and Methodius was rewarded, and the rapid spreading of the light of the Gospel amongst the Slavonian nations, is chiefly to be attributed to the really Christian spirit in which those conversions were effected. No self-seeking motives of worldly interest seem to have tainted their evangelical labours. They never sought to make Christianity a tool for political ends, by perverting the sublime precepts which the Gospel inculcates about meekness, patience, and forbearance, into the abject doctrines of an unconditional submission to the abhorrent yoke of invading foreigners. But it was quite the reverse with the German missionaries, who made sundry attempts to convert the adjacent Slavonians ; they always made Christianity subservient to political purposes ; and the German missionaries preached the word of God to clear the way

for the domination of the emperors. All Slavonian countries, which have been converted by western missionaries, fell entirely under the political influence of the Germans, who eradicated with an unceasing hostility the language and institutions of those countries; whilst those strongholds of nationality sacred to every people that has not reached the lowest pitch of degradation, were left untouched by Cyrillus and Methodius. This circumstance sufficiently accounts for the great success of those pious and liberal missionaries, as well as explains the obstacles generally met by the German clergy, whose conversions amongst the Slavonians were almost synonymous with destruction.*

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* Lest we might incur the accusation of having been carried away by our Slavonian feelings, we will support what we have advanced by the evidence of the Germans themselves:—"*Audivi cum veracissimus rex Danorum sermocinando replicaret, populos Slavonorum jam dudum procul dubio facile converti posse ad Christianitatem nisi Saxonum obstitisset avaritia; quibus, inquit mens pronior est ad pensiones vectigalium quam ad conversionem gentilium. Nec attendunt miseri quantum suæ cupiditatis luant periculum, qui Christianitatem in Slavonia primo per avaritiam turbaverunt, deinde per crudelitatem subjectos ad rebellandum coegerunt, et nunc salutem eorum qui credere vellent, pecuniam solam exigendo contemnant.* Adami Bremensi, Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. 25. *Dux Bernhardus gentem Winulorum per avaritiam crudeliter opprimens ad necessitatem Paganismi coegit. Helmoldi chronicon Slavonorum*, lib. i. c. 19. *Slavi servitutis jugum armata manu submoverunt, tantaque animi obstinatia libertatem defendere nisi sunt ut prius voluerint mori, quam Christianitatis*

After the final separation of the Eastern from the Western church, the Popes became even more anxious than before to extirpate amongst the Slavonians the worship in the national language and the communion of two kinds, which they held in common with the Greeks. The Synod of Salona, held in 1060, declared Methodius an heretic, and the Slavonian alphabet a diabolical

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tianitatis titulum resumere aut tributa solvere Saxonorum principibus."—Hist. l. i. chap. 25. The complaint addressed by the Bavarian bishops to Pope John the IXth against the independence of Moravia from their spiritual jurisdiction breathes a most unevangelical spirit: "*Sive velint sive nolint regno nostro subjecti erunt.*" They say of the Moravians, whose attachment to the scriptures and the worship in the national language they represent as a relapse into paganism, "*incessante corda eorum diabola Christianitatem abhorrere cœperunt.*" Vide Palacky's Geschichte, v. Böhmen, lib. i. pp. 153 and 200. This persecution exterminated at last all vestiges of Slavonianism in many countries which were conquered by the Germans. Thus in Pomerania, the isle of Rugen, Mecklenburg, the March of Brandenburg, and some parts of Saxony, which were formerly inhabited by Slavonians, their language is entirely superseded by the German. There are traces that the Slavonian language was used in official acts in the country about Leipsic as late as the beginning of the fourteenth century. The last individual who spoke Slavonian in Pomerania died 1404. In Lusatia the Slavonian language is still preserved, and is spoken at a distance of twenty English miles from Dresden. Many towns in the north-eastern part of Germany have names evidently derived from the Slavonian, whilst many others have two names, one Slavonian and another German, being generally either a translation or a corruption of the first.

invention. However, in spite of all the Papal efforts, those privileges could never be completely eradicated. There is, indeed, sufficient historical evidence to prove, that although the generality of the Slavonian churches conformed to the Roman ritual, the national liturgy, sometimes in opposition, and sometimes with the connivance of Rome, continued to maintain itself a long time in many parts of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Poland. The reformation of Huss, of which hereafter we shall amply speak, derived its greatest support from the spirit of independence preserved by the traditional attachment to those national churches. But it would exceed the compass of the present work if we should trace those sacred remains in all the Slavonian lands, and we must therefore limit ourselves to the country which is the immediate object of our present researches.

The national churches long resist the Papal oppression in several Slavonian countries.

At the time when Methodius and Cyrillus were presiding over the churches of great Moravia, the south-western part of Poland, which afterwards constituted the province called little Poland, formed a part of that mighty empire. The diocese of Velegrad, capital of Moravia, of which Methodius was the first archbishop, extended as far as the banks of Styr, a river flowing in the present government of Volhynia. It was therefore a natural consequence that Christianity, according to the rites established in Moravia, was likewise

Traces of their existence in Poland.

preached in those parts of Poland, where it was at the same time propagated from the adjacent dominions of the Byzantian empire. This circumstance naturally leads to the conclusion, that the national, or Slavonian worship, was for some time prevalent in a great part of Poland, before it was overwhelmed by the growing influence of pure Romanism. All the information we have on this interesting subject is derived from Roman Catholic and ecclesiastical writers, and is, consequently, in general strongly biassed against every thing which assumed a kind of opposition to the uniform rule of the Papal sway. But, however scanty and imperfect is the information about this subject which we have been able to collect from various sources, it is sufficient to establish the fact, that the above-mentioned national churches have during a long time existed in Poland.

The chronicles positively state that in the year 949, the Moravians founded at Kleparz, in the environs of Cracow, the church of St. Cross, and it is well known that they preserved at that time the liturgy in the national language. Queen Hedvige of Anjou (1399), whose piety, virtues, and personal endowments have rendered her memory an object of veneration to the Poles, was a great promoter of the national liturgy. Amongst many pious and useful establishments, she founded the Benedictine college of St. Cross, called 'Collegium

Efforts of queen Hedvige to promote divine service and religious instruction in the national language.

fratrum Slavonum,' or college of the Slavonian brethren.* In that college divine service was performed in the vernacular tongue, as is evident from the books of liturgy which were employed there, and which are still extant; and our celebrated historian Dlugosz, who lived in the latter part of the fifteenth century, went often there to enjoy the beautiful anthems chaunted in the national language. The scriptures, at least a great part of them, the lives of the fathers of the church, the revelations of St. Bridget, some homilies, and the productions of many other sacred authors *(plurimorum aliorum)*, were translated for the use of that pious queen, who was a diligent reader of those religious works.† The preference of Queen Hedvige for the language of the country submitted to her rule is the more remarkable, by her being born and bred in Hungary till the age of fifteen. Her father, Louis the great of Hungary, although he was king of Poland during the term of twelve years, visited that country only twice. Being principally engaged in Italy by his wars with the Venetians, and the affairs of the celebrated Joan

* It is impossible to ascertain whether this college was a renovation of the Moravian church of the same name, or an entirely new establishment. It may be that it received its name in commemoration of the church of St. Cross, founded in the tenth century, to which we have just alluded.

† Dlugosz, lib. x.

queen of Naples, who was married to his brother Andrew, his court was rather Italianized, and certainly the least Polish: still we see his daughter displaying a fond attachment to all that belonged to her adopted country. Her exemplary piety was guided by her superior understanding, and she easily preceived that religion cannot exert its blessed influence over the minds of men, unless its august ceremonies are performed, and its beneficial precepts proclaimed in a language intelligible to the nation at large. Yet, however her mind might have been enlightened, it is not probable that she would have ventured on what would be considered as a daring innovation, if there was not sufficient precedent to justify such proceedings in a queen, whose piety and orthodoxy never were impugned. The learned Siarczynski, one of our most eminent antiquarians, broadly asserts, that till the fourteenth century the worship in the national language was very common in Poland.* His deep research and sound criticism render his evidence highly credible, whilst his known character of a zealous Roman Catholic priest raises this evidence above every suspicion of partiality. The reverend Juszynski, also a Roman Catholic clergyman, and well known for his extraordinary erudition and

Evidence of Roman Catholic authors, about the existence of the national worship in Poland.

* *Czasopism Lwowski* (Chronicle of Lemberg), a literary periodical, 1828.

acute criticism, entirely agrees with this opinion ; he moreover adds on unquestionable authority, that the reformers of the sixteenth century have adopted for the use of their disciples many canticles of the ancient Polish national churches. He likewise states that Martin Tromba, archbishop of Gnezno, who took a prominent part at the council of Constance, and who was a great advocate of the national worship, ordered the books of liturgy to be translated into Polish. Copies of that translation were preserved in the library Zalusky, which has been carried away to Petersburg after the fall of Poland in 1794. He also assures us that before 1500 Polish breviaries were frequently used.* We have quoted the opinion of those two eminent writers, instead of adducing proofs scattered amongst sundry chronicles, which would have been tedious and uninteresting for the English reader. We might likewise adduce the Polish canticle known under the name of its author, Przeworczyk, composed about 1430-40 ; but it is very likely that the abovementioned book owes its origin to the Hussite doctrines, which were at that time widely spread in Poland. We will only add that Wapowski, an author of the sixteenth century, says : "the national worship has been only recently lost

* Introduction to the Biographical Dictionary of Polish Poets, in Polish.

amongst us, and it is an undoubted fact that it was performed at least in one place as late as the beginning of the sixteenth century.*

Influence of these churches on the political relations of the country and with Rome.

These churches preserving the worship in the vernacular language, may be considered as so many strong-holds, behind which the national spirit was ensconced, not only against the continual encroachments of Romanism, but also against those of Germanism. The influence of Germany invariably tending to the establishment of the feudal system, was certainly no less destructive to the national institutions of the Slavonians than that of Rome, which constantly sought to mould all nations into one uniform system of its ecclesiastical polity. It is undoubtedly owing to that spirit that we see in Poland a constant opposition to the unlimited supremacy of Rome. This opposition, excepting the peculiar case of some sects, to be hereafter mentioned, was however limited to the outward forms of worship, the church discipline, as well as the immunities of the church, and the supremacy which the clergy claimed to maintain over the laity, whilst the incomprehensible mysteries of religion, and its abstruse dogmas, were left untouched. It was a struggle between the ecclesiastical and temporal powers,—a contest between the Roman Catholic unity and the national independence. This last was defended

* Vide note, p. 12.

not only by monarchs jealous of a foreign authority intermeddling with their own, but also by the nobles, who eyed with suspicion the ascendancy of the clergy, considering it as a competition dangerous to their own influence. But not only the laity seems to have been animated by that national spirit, we even see the clergy themselves, though acknowledging the Pope as the head of the Catholic church, still frequently opposing his authority on many points, and particularly the celibacy of the priests--an ordinance to which the clergy in Poland submitted with more reluctance than in any other country. We shall now give our readers a sketch of the struggle which, by weakening the authority of Rome in our country, powerfully contributed to the subsequent progress of the reformation; and we begin by briefly delineating the relations which existed in Poland, between the ecclesiastical and temporal powers, since the establishment of the Christian religion to the reformation of the sixteenth century.

Influence of the German Emperors on Poland at the time of the baptism of its duke Mieczyslaw.

If the baptism of Mieczyslaw, the first Christian monarch of Poland, in 965, may be attributed to worldly motives, we think that he was prompted to perform such an important act rather by political considerations than by his attachment to the Bohemian princess Dombrovka, as it is related by the chronicles. We know that he was tributary for a part of his dominions, to the

Emperor Otton the first,* to ensure whose friendship he might have been easily induced to embrace the Christian religion. It was probably owing to that circumstance that Christianity, according to the Roman rites observed in Germany and not according to the national liturgy practised in Moravia, was established as the dominant religion in Poland.

Resistance of the Polish idolaters to the establishment of Christianity.

The conversion of the Polish idolaters was however not an easy task. According to our historian Dlugosz, the people were exceedingly reluctant to part with their idols, which

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* Although many of our historians endeavour to prove that the Polish dukes did never acknowledge the supremacy of the Romane mperors, we are obliged to dissent from their opinion on this subject, as the contemporary writer Dittmar of Merseburg positively states that Mieczyslaw paid homage to the Emperor Otton III. at Quedlinburg in 984; besides the fact that he sent a contingent of Polish troops to join the Imperial armies. This matter has been thoroughly investigated in *Friese's Kirchen-geschichte von Poland,* vol. i. We think that it is a very mistaken idea of patriotism, to endeavour to conceal or to explain away facts broadly stated by credible annalists; and we have always, in the course of this work, adhered to what we have believed to be true, even when those truths were most unpalatable to our Polish feelings. The vassalage of the Polish sovereigns to the Emperors was, however, of a very short duration, and of the same nature as that which bound the English monarchs to the kings of France for their possessions in that country. It ceased under the reign of Boleslav, the first king of Poland (992—1025).

Mieczyslaw, after his conversion, ordered to be destroyed throughout his dominions.*

The same author says, that in the year 980, fifteen years after the conversion of Mieczyslaw, half of Poland still adhered to its ancient idolatry. It was in the reign of this monarch that the first bishopric in Poland, Poznania, was erected, and subject to the archiepiscopal see of Mayence, but afterwards transferred to the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Magdebourg. Mieczyslaw was succeeded in the year 972 by his son Boleslav the first, surnamed the brave, who was even more zealous than his father in extirpating the remains of paganism. The means which he employed for that purpose were more in unison with the barbarity of that age, than congenial to the spirit of the Gospel. The reign of that monarch was illustrated by many victories: but these belong to the political history of our country, and we must limit our narration to such facts as

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* "*Ingemescentibus et illachrymantibus,*" says Dlugosz, speaking of the common people; but opposition was also experienced from the higher classes: "*plures Polonorum proceres in suscipienda fide christiana, dissentientes graviter adversabantur, dicentes non esse bonum postponere commoda páternarum traditionum ; novæ sectæ, adhuc insolitæ, libera colla submittere.*" Dlugosz lib. ii. The last words of this passage seem to imply, that the opposition which the establishment of the Roman Catholic church met in Poland, originated not only from religious, but also from political motives.

have an immediate connexion with our present subject. We shall only add, that Boleslav united under his domination the south-western part of Poland, which had formed successively a part of grand Moravia and Bohemia, and where, as we have already said, Christianity, with a national liturgy and the rites of the oriental church, was introduced by Methodius and Cyrill. This circumstance has naturally led to the spread of the above-mentioned liturgy and rites in other parts of Poland, where undoubtedly many missionaries from Moravia and Bohemia were employed, on account of their knowledge of the national tongue, in converting the idolaters. The influence of the Moravian church, which followed the Greek ritual, has left several traces in Poland, of which the most important is, that fasts according to the precepts of the Eastern church were observed in Poland as late as the year 1248, when their severity was mitigated by Rome.*

Boleslav the first unites with his dominions a part of grand Moravia, where the national worship was established by Cyrillus and Methodius.

Influence which that circumstance has produced in Poland attested by some precepts of the Oriental Church observed by the R. C. church of Poland.

About the year 1000, Emperor Otton the third came to Poland, on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Saint Adalbert at Gniesno, then the capital of Poland : a pilgrimage, the object of which was no

Emperor Otton the third arrives at Poland, confers on Boleslav the first, duke of Poland, the royal dignity, as well as all the rights possessed by the emperors in ecclesiastical matters.

* *Legatus Jacobus Leodicensis Archidiaconus convocata Wratislaviam Synodo Episcoporum, relaxavit tunc Polonis et Silesiis partem jejunii, quod est solenne ante Pascha, nam cum id totis novem hebdomadis a Dominica ex ritu Græcorum, vulgo servarent in, dulsit ut jejunii more Romano deinceps perageretur, anno* 1248. Hardouin apud Somersberg, ii. 253.

less political than devotional. Boleslav received his illustrious guest with great pomp and honours.*

The emperor repaid Boleslav's hospitality by investing him with the royal dignity, and by conferring upon him at the same time the power of exerting, not only in Poland but also in the pagan countries which he had either already conquered or might hereafter conquer, all the rights which belonged to the emperors in ecclesiastical matters. From this we may infer that the above-mentioned rights, if not actually exerted by the emperors in Poland, were at least claimed by them.

This celebrated interview with the emperor is an important circumstance, as it must have contributed to the oppression of the national liturgy, by increasing the preponderance of Romanism, supported by Germany. Numbers of monks, blindly devoted to Rome, flocked under this reign to Poland from the western part of Europe, and it appears that the monasteries were at that time almost exclusively peopled by foreigners, who being naturally adverse to all that was national and local, strove to extirpate the liturgy in the vernacular tongue, which they did not understand,

Unfavourable effects of this circumstance on the national churches.

* Dittmar of Merseburg, who accompanied the emperor on his pilgrimage, gives a detailed description of the reception which he met from Boleslav, and which was very splendid.

and called a barbarian language. Boleslav continued his severe measures against the opponents of the Christian religion, and they produced violent commotions, which he succeeded however in quelling. After his death, in the year 1025, his son, Mieczyslaw the second, being entirely governed by his queen Rixa, a niece to the Emperor Otton the third, rendered himself particularly obnoxious to his subjects. His reign was agitated by constant revolts, and it seems that the prevalent cause of discontent was the tithes which the clergy exacted from the new Christians. After his death, in 1034, his widow Rixa assumed the regency during the minority of her son Casimir the first. She had been always very unpopular, and under her regency the discontent rose to such a degree, that she was compelled to leave Poland, and to retire with her son to Germany. The revolted party abolished Christianity and royalty, and having re-established paganism, proclaimed Maslav, the leader of the revolt, ruler of the country, but without a royal or even ducal title. This event may perhaps be considered not only as the last struggle of idolatry against Christianity, but also as a contest of the spirit of popular or republican assemblies, which governed the ancient Slavonians, against the monarchical form, which seems to be of a more recent date, and introduced into Poland from Germany. The clergy were detested, particularly on account of being chiefly,

Pagan reaction during the minority of Casimir the first.

as we have already said, foreigners, and their morals, according to contemporary writers, were in a very low state. The country continued many years in a very distracted condition, till the nation being wearied of anarchy, and the Christian party having regained the ascendancy, young Casimir was recalled to the throne, and received with great joy. He justified the expectation of his subjects, and his wisdom soon re-established order in the country, and healed the wounds inflicted by long troubles. With the death of his opponent Maslav, who was taken and executed, the pagan party disappeared for ever from Poland.

It is suppressed, and paganism disappears from Poland.

We now arrive at one of the most important events that have occurred in the early part of the history of Poland, the quarrel between Boleslav the second, surnamed the Dauntless, and the bishop of Cracow, Stanislav Szczepanowski. This memorable event, which ended with the death of Szczepanowski in the year 1078, is related by Dlugosz, the most reputed of our early historians, as having taken place under the following circumstances: "King Boleslav the Dauntless, elated by constant success and corrupted by his long residence at Kiiov, then capital of Russia, celebrated for its riches and the refined luxuries of Byzantium, became overbearing, violent, and dissolute in his manners. Stanislav Szczepanowski, bishop of Cracow, boldly reprimanded

Quarrel between king Boleslav the Dauntless and Stanislav Szczepanowski bishop of Cracow.

the disorderly conduct of the sovereign, who, incensed at the prelate's manly behaviour, murdered him with his own hands at the foot of the altar. Pope Gregorius the Seventh excommunicated the sacrilegious monarch, who was obliged to leave his throne and his country, and died an exile in Hungary." This is the substance of an account which was repeated by all other historians, Polish as well as foreign.* However, the acute criticism of some modern writers has thrown on that important subject quite a different light from that in which it had hitherto been represented. There is certainly no doubt that the bishop was deprived of life, and the king compelled to leave his throne and dominions, but the circumstances under which those important historical facts were accomplished seem to have been quite different from those which had obtained general credence.

Reasons to believe that it was originated from other motives than those to which it has been generally ascribed.

We may consider the quarrel between Boleslav the Dauntless and Stanislav Szczepanowski as a contest between the temporal and spiritual powers, which then agitated many parts of Europe. It must be remarked that the Polish monarchs derived the royal dignity from the Emperors, and not from the Popes, who were

* This account is so universally received that we thought ourselves obliged to follow it in the historical introduction which we have prefixed to our translation of the Court of Sigismund Augustus, or Poland in the sixteenth century.

reluctant to acknowledge that title.* We may therefore easily suppose that, during the disputes which existed between the Popes and the Emperors, the kings of Poland embraced the part of the latter, from whom they also derived the right of distributing ecclesiastical preferment in their dominions. Boleslav was jealous of the rights of his nation as well as of those of his crown. He prohibited the bestowment of church preferment on foreigners, who at that time almost entirely engrossed the ecclesiastical benefices; and he imposed on the estates of the clergy the same duties and services as on those of his other subjects. The first of these measures necessarily offended the court of Rome, always eager to feed its creatures with rich benefices in every country subject to its spiritual dominion. The second of these regulations, entrenching on the material interests of the clergy, was still more calculated to render the king odious to that formidable body. However, Boleslav's power was such that the clergy submitted to those ordinances: but an opposition was soon raised, not only by the clergy but also by the principal nobles, against the monarch, who, as it seems, was not only anxious to repress the encroachments of the clergy, but also

* There are no traces that the Popes had given, at that time, the royal title to the sovereigns of Poland. Gregory the seventh calls (1075) Boleslav the Dauntless only Duke of Poland.

to check the pretensions of an aristocracy which, growing on the ruin of the ancient popular institutions of the Slavonians, was weakening the unity of the sovereign's power. Szczepanowski seems to have been the head, the personification of that party, in defending which he paid the forfeit of his life.

There is sufficient reason to believe that the death of Szczepanowski was the consequence of a judicial decree. The circumstance of his head being chopped off after his death, and his body cut into pieces, seems to imply that he was condemned to a punishment not uncommon in that barbarous age, and executed according to that decree, instead of being the victim of a sudden ebullition of royal anger. The evidence of the early chronicles respecting that memorable transaction is very unsatisfactory. That of Martin Gallus, in whose time the event was quite recent, is by no means favourable to the Bishop;* and the relation of Kadlubek, who wrote in the thirteenth century, seems to have been added in more modern times.† Dlugosz, who considers Szczepanowski as

* *Non debuit Christianus in Christianum peccatum quod libet corporaliter vindicare : pro traditione pontificem truncatione membrarum adhibuit. Neque traditorem Episcopum excusamus. Sed hæc inmædio deseramus.* Mart. Gallus, cap. 27. We think that the guilt of Szczepanowski is clearly established by this pasage of an almost contemporary writer, who considers him not as a martyr, but who, being a clergyman, reluctantly touches that important event.

† Sarnicki, an author of the sixteenth century, speaking of Szczepanowski's

a saint and a martyr, quotes many accusations by which Boleslav endeavoured to justify his act. The same author reports, with pious indignation, that very many supposed at that time the bishop to be a traitor and a profligate, who was deservedly punished for his crimes.* This last circumstance proves at least that the King was supported by a strong party amongst the nation disbelieving the righteousness of Stanislav Szczepanowski, who received the honours of canonization a long time after his death.† Boleslav was compelled to leave his throne and his country, and retired into Hungary with his infant son Mieczyslaw; but we think that it was the united influence of the aristocracy and the clergy which drove him from Poland, and not the excommunication of Gregory the Seventh, which seems to have never

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Szczepanowski's death, says; "*factum adhuc recens non scripserit Kadlubek—nec ullam mentionem hujus rei fecerit.*"—It is therefore evident that the relation of the above-mentioned occurrence, which is found in Kadlubek's chronicle, has been added in times posterior to those of Sarnicki.

* *Pro occasione unius dementis et temerarii Episcopi, culpa sua necati.* The pious Dlugosz relates with a perfect horror those popular rumours about his saint, adding some appellations by which he was designated, but which are of too gross a nature to be quoted without necessity.

† Stanislav Szczepanowski was canonized 1254; but it was only about the end of the sixteenth century that Sigismund the Third, king of Poland, obtained for him the honours of a universal worship.

taken place, as there is no bull to that purpose in the collections of Papal decrees. We think that if such an important fact, and a precedent so favourable to the supremacy which the Roman see claimed over the monarchs of Christendom, had really occurred, it is quite improbable that it should be omitted in the Papal records.*—We have perhaps expatiated too long on this event, which bears so strong a resemblance to the history of Thomas à Becket. We have done so because we consider this transaction not as a fortuitous occurrence produced by the violence of passion, but as the result of a struggle between the national party, remembering still the ancient liberties of the Slavonians, and the new but growing influence of the aristocracy united with that of the Roman church. This influence must have been already very strong, if it could obtain such a triumph over a monarch who had acquired great glory by his warlike achievements, and who seems to have been popular with the inferior classes of the nation. The part which the aristocracy took in the deposition of Boleslav is sufficiently evident from the fear they entertained of his son Mieczyslaw. This prince, who is described as the idol of the common people, compelled his uncle, Vladislav Herman, to divide

* This is not to be found either in Baronius's Ecclesiastical Annals, or in Coquelini's Bullarium.

with him the sovereign authority; but the youthful son of Boleslav the Dauntless was soon poisoned by some grandees, who were afraid he might seek to avenge the wrongs of his father.*

The abrogation of several enactments of Boleslav the Dauntless by his brother,† as well as the modification which the constitution underwent under the reign of Vladislav Herman, give an additional proof of what we have advanced about the hostility of the aristocracy against Boleslav.‡

Consequences of Boleslav's expulsion from the throne of Poland.

The ascendancy of the clergy was established by the expulsion of Boleslav the Dauntless. The reign of his brother, Vladislav Herman, being the consequence of the triumph which the church

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* The almost contemporary Martin Gallus describes the death of the young Mieczyslaw, or Mieshko, in the following affecting words : "*Emulos, timentes ne patris injuriam vindicaret veneno puerum peremisse. Mortuo Mescone tota Polonia lugebat. Rustici aratra, pastores pecora deserebant ; artifices studia, operatores opera postponebant, servi insuper et ancillæ. Nullius regis vel principis exitium tam diuturno mœrore conclamatum.*" This, we think, sufficiently proves that the memory of Boleslav the Dauntless was popular amongst the lower classes, who lamented the death of the young Mieczyslaw, whom they expected to become the avenger not only of the wrongs of his father, but also of their own.

† *Nonnula fratris sui decreta retractans et ad meliorem formam reducens.* Dlugosz, ad annum 1082.

‡ *Prelati et Barones Poloniæ formando novum statum reipublicæ.* Math. de Miechow, cap. 3.

had gained over the state, could not be but favourable to the increase of sacerdotal influence. Vladislav was succeeded by his son Boleslav the Third, or Wrymouth, a monarch celebrated for his victories, and for the conquest and conversion of Pomerania, which he had accomplished. His reign seems to have been favourable to the clergy; at least, he always kept on good terms with that powerful body. The example of his uncle Boleslav the Dauntless was too recent, and by no means inviting, to be imitated. This sovereign, who died in the year 1139, completely marred the effects of a long and prosperous reign by dividing his dominions between his four sons. Internal wars, foreign invasion, and a general relaxation of order, were the deplorable but natural consequences of such an impolitic measure. This state of things, which lasted nearly during two centuries, was exceedingly favourable to the increase of ecclesiastical power. The sovereign authority, divided between many rulers, and weakened by their constant dissensions, was continually declining, whilst the clergy, united into one community, promoted their interests with that uniformity of design with which every corporate body is generally tending towards the attainment of the same object. Many princes who reigned during that troubled period sought to fortify their authority by the influence of the church. It frequently proved a powerful assistance, but it was

Division of Poland into separate principalities by Boleslav the Wrymouth, favourable to the influence of the clergy.

always purchased, either by rich donations or by the concession of new privileges and immunities. Yet, notwithstanding all those advantages, the authority of the clergy, which swayed during that period all western Europe, seems to have been very precarious in Poland, where it frequently wanted sufficient power to crush the opposition of the petty sovereigns who ruled several principalities of that country.

Synod of Lenczyca.

The synod which was convened at Lenczyca, in the year 1180, is the first assembly of that kind in Poland. However, being composed not only of ecclesiastical dignitaries, but also of princes, and other temporal lords, it may be considered rather as a national diet than an ecclesiastical convocation. Its chief enactment was, that the sovereign princes should abstain, under penalty of excommunication, from appropriating to themselves the goods and chattels of deceased bishops.

Vladislav Spindleshanks, duke of Cracow, claims the inheritance of deceased bishops.

However, in spite of that solemnly recognised privilege, Vladislav Laskonogi, or Spindleshanks, duke of Cracow, 1212-18, seized the property of the bishops of Cracow and of Breslau after the death of those prelates. Henry archbishop of Gniezno, as head of the Polish church, excommunicated the duke for committing sacrilege. But this excommunication, instead of humbling the refractory prince, incited him only to a bolder opposition: he abrogated in his dominions all

the privileges of the clergy, took to himself the distribution of church preferment, and abolished the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, declaring the priests amenable to the ordinary tribunals, and liable to the same penalties with the rest of his subjects. Pope Innocent the Third authorized the archbishop to proclaim a general interdict, should Vladislav persist in his violent proceedings. Philip bishop of Poznania refused to proclaim in his diocese the above-mentioned interdict, and was instantly deposed by the Pope. But Vladislav, contemning the censures of Rome, ejected from his see bishop Paul, whom the Pope had nominated in lieu of the deposed Philip, and increased his severity against those of the clergy who resisted his ordinances. The Pope nominated the bishop of Halberstadt and the abbot of the Cistercian monastery de Sychem his commissioners to judge Vladislav, and, in case the duke should despise their decree, to confirm the solemn excommunication proclaimed against him by the archbishop of Gniezno. Vladislav eluded the jurisdiction of those commissioners by appealing to the Pope. The archbishop of Gniezno went himself to Rome in order to further the cause of his clergy. He was invested by the Pope with new honours: but all his efforts to abolish the severe enactments of the duke proved unavailing. The clergy felt their weakness, and were obliged to arrange their differences with the sovereign

He abrogates in his dominions the privileges of the clergy, and subjects them to the civil authority.

The clergy are obliged to submit to him.

through the means of a voluntary agreement, by which the ducal treasury became entitled to inherit all gold, silver, and every kind of costly furniture left by the bishops dying intestate.

The church recovers its supremacy under Vladislav Odonicz and Boleslav Pudicus.

The clergy, however, soon resumed their supremacy. Vladislav Odonicz, duke of Grand-Poland, conceded (1222) to Henry archbishop of Gniezno, by whose assistance he mounted on the ducal throne, an immunity of taxation for all the church property, and a total exemption of the secular jurisdiction to the clergy. Boleslav Pudicus, duke of Cracow, not only confirmed all those immunities (1279), but augmented them by investing the bishops with the privilege of exercising in their estates all the rights belonging to a sovereign.

Quarrels about tithes.

The collection of tithes gave rise also to many quarrels between the laity and clergy in Poland. Boleslav the Bald, duke of Silesia, desired (1258), that the tenth sheaf of corn collected by the clergy should be commuted to a pecuniary compensation. But the clergy, who derived more advantage from collecting the tithes in kind than they could draw from a payment in money, refused the proposed commutation, and insisted on receiving the tithes in kind, which they claimed as their sacred and inviolable right. The duke, irritated by the refusal of Thomas bishop of Breslau to accede to his wishes, imprisoned the prelate with one of his canons, and loaded them

with chains. Fulk archbishop of Gniezno excommunicated Boleslav; but the duke despised his censures. The Pope ordered the archbishops of Gniezno and Magdeburg to preach a crusade against the refractory prince, but the holy war evaporated in hymns chaunted in different churches against the excommunicated duke. The bishop of Breslau, despairing to be released from his confinement by the champions of the church, purchased his liberty by paying to Boleslav two thousand marks of silver, and by consenting to the proposed adjustment of tithes. The example of such a successful opposition to the clergy was imitated by the dukes of Cracow and Mazovia, who enforced in their states a similar commutation of tithes. Henry the second duke of Silesia, and son of Boleslav the Bald, inherited his father's jealousy against the clergy. The bishop of Boleslav, unable to resist his sovereign, called for the assistance of the archbishop of Gniezno, who excommunicated duke Henry. The claims which the bishop urged against the prince must have been at least considered as doubtful, because the Franciscans of Breslau refused to acknowledge the validity of the anathema. Encouraged by such a division amongst the clergy themselves, Henry banished from the city all the priests that were opposed to him. The menaces of the Pope remained fruitless; the duke appealed to the council of Lyons, and an

absolution was granted to him. This absolution, however, was not purchased by any concession on the part of the duke. After an exile of five years, the bishop reconciled his sovereign by consenting that the clergy of his diocese should pay a certain contribution to the ducal treasury.*

These conflicts between the clerical and secular powers which we have described, and which often ended in the triumph of the temporal authority, prove the feeble hold which the Papal sway had in Poland on the minds of the people; and, indeed, it is almost impossible to admit that sovereigns, who governed only parts of the country, should venture on entering so dangerous a contest without being supported by the general opinion of their subjects. The thunders of the Vatican, which shook to the very foundation the thrones of western Europe, fell harmless to the ground in Poland, the inhabitants of which seemed to care very little about the ecclesiastical censures. This may be accounted for in a satisfactory manner only by the spirit of independence, and opposition to an unconditional submission to the authority of Rome, fostered by the national churches, the existence of which we have amply described. The worship in the vernacular tongue was at that time still very common in our country,

Reasons why the opposition to the authority of the R. C. church was stronger in Poland than in other countries subject to its domination.

* Vide Naruszewicz's History of Poland, vol. v. Math. de Miechow, l. iii. Bzovius, ad annum 1258.

and naturally popular with the bulk of the nation, who certainly preferred a language with they understood, to the empty sounds of a tongue unknown to them. The lower clergy, of whom many adhered to the above-mentioned mode of worship, seem not to have been very eager in supporting the cause of Rome, to which the higher dignitaries of the church were entirely devoted. It appears that neither unbelief nor any new doctrine in matters of faith was amongst the causes of those frequent contests between the laity and clergy, because the opposition carried against the church was entirely confined to matters of worldly interest; and we do not see any complaint that the tenets of the church were impugned or despised by those sovereigns who boldly attacked the temporal interests of the clergy. The religious sects which appeared in Poland previously to the reformation of Huss, and of which we shall hereafter speak, were not peculiar to that country, and there are no traces of their exerting any influence over the rulers of the land, or even on the great mass of its inhabitants.

We must, however, not omit an important circumstance which very likely contributed to raise throughout the country a strong feeling against Rome. In the thirteenth century the knights of St. John were called by Conrad duke of Mazovia, in order to assist him against the idolaters of Prussia, and endowed by the same prince with extensive pos-

sessions. Those warrior-monks having conquered Prussia, and reduced its inhabitants to a state of the most oppressive bondage, commenced making continual encroachments on the frontiers of Poland, and became its most formidable enemies. The universal hatred which those soldier-priests and professed defenders of the Papal authority inspired to the Poles reflected on the clergy in general, and this may be one of the leading causes of that jealousy against the ecclesiastical order which the nobility of Poland so strongly manifested in the fourteenth century. Under the reign of Casimir the Great (1333-1370), the nobility, or, as it was called in Poland, the equestrian order, raised a violent outcry against the clergy. They complained that the tithes were exorbitant; that the bishops diverted the annates for their own use; and desired that the overgrown extent of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction should be curtailed. The clergy on their side were no less loud in inveighing against the equestrian order, whom they accused of wantonly withholding the payment of tithes, as well as of an impious contempt of ecclesiastical censures. It is natural to suppose that, in such troubled times as the fourteenth century was, both parties were not guiltless of the offences which each of them reciprocally imputed to the other. The wisdom and firmness of Casimir the Great succeeded in arranging those differences, by correcting many abuses on both

sides; but his measures suspended only the mutual jealousies. The statute of Casimir enacted, that if a land-owner did not ask in the course of a year to be released from the anathema, his serfs were at liberty to leave his dominions and become free. Casimir is celebrated for his solicitude about the welfare of the agricultural class, by which he merited the honourable surname of the *peasants' king*. It was that solicitude, and not any partiality to the clergy, which induced him to enact the above-mentioned law, because we see him committing even an act of great barbarity in defending his rights against the clergy. Having imposed a tax on the property of the bishop of Cracow, Casimir was excommunicated; but the clergyman who ventured to notify the anathema to the king was seized and drowned. This act of violence produced no consequence whatever, and it is probable that the clergy, feeling that they were too weak to quarrel with a monarch popular with his subjects, hushed up the affair.* Under the reign of Casimir's successor, Lewis of Anjou, king of Hungary (1370-82,) those differences assumed a more fierce character, and the equestrian order, who acquired during that reign extensive privileges, declared the immunities, which Boleslav

* Sarnicki, who relates that occurrence, remarks, in speaking of the clergyman's death: "*Mirum est quod in album martyrorum non est relatus.*"

Pudicus had granted to the clergy in the year 1279, null and void.

Disputes between the Popes and the kings of Poland about the right of nominating bishops, which end in a complete triumph of the latter.

There are sufficient grounds for believing that since the earliest period of history the monarchs of Poland exercised the right of nominating the bishops. We have seen that the emperor Otton the Third conferred upon Boleslav the First all the rights belonging to the emperors in ecclesiastical matters. The most important of those imperial rights was certainly the nomination of the bishops, and it was naturally included amongst those with which Boleslav became invested by the emperor. We have seen that Boleslav the Dauntless prohibited the bestowment of ecclesiastical benefices upon foreigners. This ordinance, which was carried into effect without opposition, proves that the interference of the monarch in the distribution of church preferment was nothing extraordinary; the Popes naturally opposed the sovereign's right of nominating the bishops, and the Roman legate deposed in Poland (1104) two bishops, as being nominated by the king without the consent of the Pope.* Pope Paschal the second complains, in a letter to Martinus archbishop of Gniezno, 1101, that the kings of Poland wantonly transferred the bishops from one diocese to another.† Boleslav

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* "*Nulla summi pontificis authoritate,*" says Baronius.

† *Quid super translationibus loquar, quæ apud vos, non authoritate*

Crispus duke of Grand Poland nominated, in the year 1170, Lupus bishop of Plock; and we see no trace that this nomination was opposed. Pope Boniface nominated (1391) bishop of Plock an Italian named Manfeali. But the Papal nominee had not even seen his diocese, being opposed by the sovereign, the equestrian, and even the ecclesiastical order.* The Jaguellonian dynasty, which mounted on the throne of Poland in the latter part of the fourteenth century, was by no means inclined to favour the pretensions of Rome.† The Hussite doctrines, which widely circulated in Poland during the fifteenth century, rendered the Papal authority almost powerless. A remarkable proof of the contempt into which the power of Rome had fallen in our country during that period, is exhibited by the following important circumstance: In the year 1460 king Casimir the Third conferred the bishopric of Cracow upon a Gruszczynski, which the Pope had previously given to a Sieninski

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thoritate Apostolica, sed nutu regis præsumuntur. Naruszewicz, lib. iv.

* *Adversantibus ducibus sacro et equestri ordine.* Kromer, lib. xv.

† Martin V. complains (1427 and 1429) to king Vladislaw Jaguellon about the violation of ecclesiastical immunities, contempt of the spiritual jurisdiction, and of the rights of the Roman see; representing to the monarch that the Popes alone should nominate the Bishops. Vide Raynaldus, ad annum 1429.

This gave rise to a violent dispute about the pre-eminence of the royal authority, and the infallibility of the Pope. The king prohibited the proclamation of the *Breves* and the excommunications issued on that occasion by the Pope, appealed from his judgment to a future council, and outlawed the Papal nominee Sieninski. The dean, the prebendary, and some canons of Cracow, who had violently taken the part of the Pope, were ordered by the king to be conducted out of town by public executioners. Casimir likewise ordered the suspension of the ecclesiastical tribunals; and when some clergymen ventured, in spite of the royal prohibition, to open a spiritual court, they were publicly driven out of Cracow. The bishop of Creta, legate of the Pope, admonished the king to reinstate Sieninski in the episcopal see of Cracow: but the king answered, "I would rather lose my kingdom."—"It would be better that three kingdoms had perished, than a single word of the Pope should be brought to nought," was the haughty retort of the bishop. The monarch did not deign to reply to the prelate, but he persisted in his resolution, and the words of the Pope and his legate were brought to nought.* At the diet of Piotrkow (1462) an address

* Sarnicki relates that Casimir the Third, being irritated against Rome, ordered that every one might resist the ecclesiastical decrees, and appeal from them to a future council.

was got up, requesting the king that he should not infringe the authority of the Pope; but Casimir replied that he would never permit any body to impose bishops on his kingdom. One of our best historians, who wrote in the sixteenth century, concludes, in reporting the above-mentioned transaction, with the following simple phrase, "and since that time the king chooses the bishops."* This testimony is sufficient to prove that Casimir's example became a precedent, which was strictly adhered to by his successors. We have, besides, sufficient historical evidence to prove how tenacious the monarchs of Poland were of the above-mentioned right. A remarkable instance of the jealousy with which they opposed every encroachment on that right occurs in the beginning of the sixteenth century, under the reign of Sigismund the First. The Pope having assumed to create by himself a bishop of Plock, the king instantly rejected the papal nominee, declaring "that he never will permit to any one to infringe the laws of the country and to nominate the senators of the realm." When Pope Adrian the Sixth delayed to confirm Leszczynski, whom the king had nominated bishop of Poznania, he notified to the pontiff, that his obstinacy in withholding justice may be productive of consequences disagreeable

* Bielski, anno 1463.

to the holy father and to the apostolical see. The Pope prudently gave way; and indeed a farther resistance on his part would have been not only useless, but even dangerous, in a time when the Protestant doctrines were rapidly spreading over Poland.

We have now given our readers such details as we have been able to collect, about the relations which existed in Poland between church and state, or laity and clergy. We should be glad to have it in our power to convey to them some information respecting the internal state of the church in Poland and its relations with Rome, but the sources of such information are very scanty, and the ecclesiastical writers, almost the only authority whence we may derive some knowledge about that subject, are generally devoted to the papal interest. They report the several conflicts which had taken place between the laity and clergy as examples of impiety, carefully to be avoided by the faithful: but to mention instances of the clergy themselves opposing the unconditional supremacy of Rome, would have been to propagate examples of great scandal, and fraught with dangerous consequences. The Protestant authors of the sixteenth century, who have written under the influence of polemical excitement, have been perhaps too prone to exaggerate every circumstance which could corroborate their own views. At all events, we dare not rely on their

The internal state of the clergy in Poland, and its relations with Rome during that period, are very little known.

sole evidence, lest we may incur the reproach of partiality to writers professing our own creed. There are, however, some traces in the papal writers that the Polish church previously to 1100 maintained a state of independence from the Roman see.*

Marriage of Priests.

The papal ordinance which seems to have met with a more than common resistance from the Polish clergy is that which imposed celibacy on the priests. This was undoubtedly owing to the influence exercised by the national worship, because the churches established by Cyrillus and Methodius, as well as by their followers, adhered to the discipline of the Eastern church, which not only allows matrimony to its ministers, but imposes it on them.

It is well known that the final prohibition of marriage to the clergy was made by Gregorius the Seventh. We have, however, sufficient historical evidence that about 1120 all the priests of the diocese of Breslau were married. Sarnicki posi-

* Paschal the Second, in addressing the Polish clergy, in the person of the archbishop, says: "*Significasti Regem et regni majores admiratione permotos quod pallium tibi tali conditione oblatum fuerit si sacramentum jurares.*" The answer of the Polish clergy was: "*Omne jus jurandum a Christo Deo in evangelio esse prohibitum, nec ab ipsis Apostolis, nec in conciliis inveniri posse statutum.*" Hardouin. vi. 2. Gregorius the Seventh, in his letter to Boleslav the Dauntless, king of Poland (1075), says: "*Episcopi terræ vestræ ultra regulas sunt liberi et absoluti.*"

tively states that, about the middle of the twelfth century, the Polish clergy were generally married.* The evidence of Sarnicki, who was a Protestant, may be perhaps objected to; but Dlugosz, a zealous Romanist, positively states that marriage was common amongst the clergy in Poland at the end of the twelfth century.† The synods of Cracow and Lubusz, convoked by the influence of the Cardinal Peter of Capua, legate of Celestin the Third, who arrived in Poland at the end of the twelfth century, ordered the clergy to abandon their concubines and lawful wives, and severe penalties were denounced against the refractory priests.‡ However, it is evident that these menaces did not produce the desired effect, because the synod of Gniezno, assembled in 1219, complains that the former regulations prohibiting the clerical marriage, and namely those of the Cardinal Peter of Capua, proved unavailing. The same synod decreed that the priests should swear

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* Sarnicki Historia, v. i, 12.

† "*Complures ea tempestate* (1197) *sacerdotes uxoribus velut jure legitimo utebantur.*"—Dlugosz, ad ann. 1197.

‡ Dlugosz, after having described the regulations against the marriage of the clergy made through the influence of Cardinal Peter, adds: "*Laicis vero quacumque excellentia pollentibus connubia sua in facie ecclesiæ instituit.*" These words seem to imply that many persons had formerly been in the habit of contracting marriages without the sanction of the Roman Catholic church. Are not the followers of the national worship meant by this?

to abandon their concubines and lawful wives. It is remarkable that the synod of Piotrkow (1577) complains that clergymen of an unsuspected orthodoxy obstinately defended the marriage of the priests.*

Religious sects. Waldensians.

There are sufficient grounds to believe that, as early as the year 1176, the disciples of Peter Valdo, persecuted in the west of Europe, transferred their doctrines to Bohemia.† Our historian Wengierski, who wrote at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and who possessed many historical documents which afterwards were destroyed by time, accident, or the fanaticism of the Roman Catholic clergy, positively asserts that the Valdenses spread their dogmas amongst the inhabitants of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Poland.‡ According to the same historian, those

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* *Quoniam nonnuli ex sacerdotibus qui in cæteris catholicos se esse profitentur, eo audatiæ ac dementiæ progrediuntur, ut sibi uxores ducere licite existiment et de facto nuptias celebrant.*—Acta Synod Petricov 1577, March 19.

† Stranski apud l'Enfant's *Concile de Constance.*

‡ In his Slavonia Reformata, Amstelodami 1679. Illiricus Flaccus, in his *Catalogus Testium Veritatis,* says: "*pars Valdensium in Germaniam transiit atque apud Bohemos, in Polonia ac Livonia larem fixit.*"—Leger, in his Histoire Générale des Eglises evangéliques de Vallées du Piemont ou Vaudois, 1669, quotes (vol. ii. page 332), the following words of d'Aubigné :—"*Les constantes morts de ces pauvres persecutés, donnèrent vie à cette religion*

early reformers had established a settlement in the vicinity of Cracow; and that, as late as the year 1330, the Holy Inquisition in Poland discovered that many Poles and Bohemians visited the Valdensian churches in Italy, and supported them with rich donations. Thuanus states that Peter Valdo himself, after having visited the Slavonian countries, settled in Bohemia, and the learned Perrin adheres to that opinion.* Supposing even the tradition of Peter Valdo's wanderings and death to be groundless, the very existence of this tradition proves that the Valdensian doctrines were circulating in those distant lands. At the beginning of the twelfth century, when those doctrines began to be promulgated, the Slavonian or national churches existed in great numbers throughout Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia, and Poland. When we reflect that the above-mentioned churches allowed the free use of the scriptures, the worship in the vernacular tongue, the com-

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religion, et que les spectacles des feux et des supplices publics, furent comme autant des messagers qui la publièrent par toutes les parties de l'Allemagne et de la Pologne, qui épousèrent cette doctrine." The same author states, page 336-337, on the authority of Regnerus and Vignier, that the Waldenses had, about the year 1210, churches in Slavonia, Sarmatia (Poland) and Livonia. Vide also M'Crie's History of the Reformation in Italy, page 4.

* "*Valdus, civitates Vandalicas diu perambulans postremo in Bohemia pedem fixit.*" Thuanus. Histoire des Vaudois par Perrin, 223.

munion of two kinds, and the marriage of priests, indulgences prohibited by the papal innovations, we may conceive that the precepts of Peter Valdo could find an easy access to the followers of those national churches. It is well known that the Valdensians maintained nearly the same tenets that were afterwards triumphantly established by the Reformation, and we have many instances of similar doctrines having been openly preached in Bohemia, and re-echoed in Poland, even before the time of Huss.

Flagellants and Fratricelli.

The sects of the Flagellants and of the Fratricelli, who disturbed Europe during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, extended also to Poland, where they found a great number of adherents. But as the above-mentioned sects did not assume any peculiar character different from that which they exhibited in other countries, we shall not give any description of them, which may be found in every work relating to the ecclesiastical history of those countries.*

John Pirnensis and his followers.

We must, however, not omit a very remarkable occurrence that took place in the fourteenth century at Breslau, which, although situated in Silesia, constituted at that time one of the Polish dioceses. In the year 1341, a certain John Pirnensis began to preach publicly that the Pope

* Vide vol. iii. of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, English translation.

was the Antichrist, Rome the great prostitute of Babylon and the church of Satan, as well as many other similar tenets. His disciples distinguished themselves particularly by their inveterate hatred against the clergy. All Breslau seems to have embraced for a time this sect. The burgomaster himself declared against the Pope and the clergy, whilst the doctrines of Pirnensis were preached in the streets. The tribunal of the Holy Inquisition at Cracow commissioned the Inquisitor, John of Swidnica (Schweidnitz), to extirpate the heresy of Pirnensis, but the inhabitants of Breslau rose against the Inquisitor and murdered him. Our countryman, the ecclesiastical historian Bzovius (Bzowski), reports that he had seen himself, in the year 1607, the garment of the Inquisitor pierced with knives and imbrued with gore, which was preserved as a relic. He also says that in that time there was in the archives of the Trinity church, in the same city, a manuscript containing the doctrines of Pirnensis.* This sect, however, disappeared after the death of its founder, whose body was, by the orders of Rome, disinterred, burnt, and its ashes scattered to the winds. It is probable that the followers of Pirnensis were afterwards absorbed by the Hussites, who spread in great numbers over Silesia at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

* Bzovius, ad ann. 1341.

Influence of the Hussite doctrines.

The limits of our work preclude our entering into a detailed description of the rise and progress of the Hussite doctrines in Bohemia, and we shall only endeavour to trace the influence which they exercised in our own country.

The tradition of the national worship appears to have had a stronger hold on the minds of the people in Bohemia than in the other Slavonian countries, notwithstanding its complete abolition in 1174. The latter part of the fourteenth century was favourable to the development of Bohemian nationality, under the fostering care of the Emperor Charles the Fourth, who was a zealous promoter of the national language and institutions of that country.* This circumstance has probably contributed to revive the attachment to the national worship of which the communion of two kinds was an important part. That the use of such communion was not uncommon in Bohemia immediately before Huss, is evident from the prohibition of that communion in 1350, as well as from its defence by some learned Bohemians, as, Conrad Stekna in 1369, John Milicz in 1374, and Mathias de Janowa in 1394, who being the confessor of Charles the Fourth, performed divine service according to the rites of the national worship in the imperial chapel. The Pope denounced

Antiromanist manifestations in Bohemia previously to Huss, and their influence on Poland.

* Charles the Fourth was so partial to the Bohemian language, that he recommends, in the Golden Bull, the Electors of the empire to learn it.

as heretics the above-mentioned defenders of the communion of two kinds, and ordered their imprisonment. Milicz and Math. de Janowa sought and found refuge in Poland, where they continued to preach their doctrines. Pope Gregorius the Eleventh ordered (1374) Jaroslav Skotnicki, archbishop of Gniezno, to proceed against Milicz as one who openly preached heresy, reproaching at the same time the supineness and timidity of the Holy Inquisition in Poland.* We do not, however, see that the papal admonition had produced much effect.

We think that the circumstances which we have just related prove that the reformation of Bohemia originated in domestic elements, from national traditions, and was the effect of the development of the national intellect, and that Wicliff is unjustly considered as the primitive cause of that reformation. Far be from us the idea of wishing to diminish the merit of that great man, who has given the first formal and decided expression to the evangelical truth; but although he undoubtedly gave an impulse to the movement which renovated the scriptural doctrines amongst the Slavonian nations, he did not create that movement.

It is well known that the queen of Richard the

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* Friese Beyträge zur Reformations Geschichte, vol. i. page 11. Raynaldus, ad ann. 1374.

Second was a Bohemian princess, and that many persons of her household who had accompanied her to this country returned after her death to their native land, and contributed to spread there the opinions of Wicliff. A great intercourse existed at that time between the universities of Prague and Oxford, and it was nothing uncommon for English students to frequent the first of those learned establishments, and for the Bohemians to frequent the latter. There are many grounds to believe that Hieronymus of Prague, the fellow martyr of Huss, had spent some time at Oxford. The works of Wicliff were the first means of spreading the seeds of reformation amongst the Bohemians. Huss translated the writings of Wicliff, and made his name popular amongst his countrymen.*

Influence of Wicliff on Bohemia and Poland.

The rapid success which the opinions brought forward by Wicliff, and propagated by Huss, obtained in Bohemia, whilst they produced comparatively little effect in England, and none in

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* Hieronymus of Prague is supposed to have returned from Oxford about the year 1400. Two Englishmen, called James and Conrad, publicly preached against Rome at Prague in 1404. The Dialogus and Trialogus of Wicliff were translated into Bohemian by Huss. Two hundred volumes, beautifully written and richly bound *(pulcherrime conscripta ac bullis aureis, tegumentisque preciosis ornata)*, containing the works of Wicliff and Huss, Hieronymus and Milicz, were burnt by the Catholic clergy in 1408. Vide l'Enfant, *Cochleus de bello Hussitorum.*

other parts of western Europe, is mainly to be attributed to the traditional attachment to the national worship, as well as to the hereditary hostile feeling which existed between the Slavonians and the Germans. The Roman hierarchy was ever united with German feudalism in oppressing the popular forms of the Slavonian institutions, and their national mode of worship. This spirit of rivalry was strongly manifested in the quarrel which took place at the university of Prague between the national and German party. The cause of that quarrel was the privilege which the Emperor Charles IVth had conferred on the Germans (under which name all the foreigners studying at the university of Prague were comprehended). They possessed three votes at all the elections of the university, whilst the Bohemians, or natives, had only one vote : hence the Germans were constantly elected to the academical dignities, which gave just offence to the Bohemians. Huss was on that occasion the leader of the national party, and he represented to the king that the unjust privilege should be abolished, and the custom of the university of Bologna and Paris adopted. These two universities, which were called by that of Prague its mothers, allowed one vote to foreigners, whilst they gave three to the natives of the country. This demand was granted by the monarch on the 5th October 1409, and it produced such discontent amongst the German

Quarrel between the national and the German or foreign parties at the university of Prague.

The national party, headed by Huss, gains its point, and the Germans retire from Prague.

students that they all left Prague, which caused the foundation of the university of Leipsic.*

Huss was elected rector of the university after the departure of the Germans from Prague, and the national party eagerly embraced the religious doctrines of its leader; the anti-Romanist feeling being blended with the anti-German. These circumstances account for the rapid spread of the Hussite doctrines amongst the Slavonians of Bohemia and the adjacent countries, as well as for their want of success amongst the Germans.

Intimate connexion of Poland with Bohemia during that period.

Poland was at that time intimately connected with Bohemia: the languages of both countries were then almost the same. The youths of Poland generally resorted for their education to the university of Prague, where an especial college for them was founded by Queen Hedvige.† Huss's character was held in great estimation

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* Vide *Bellum Hussiticum a Zachario Theobaldo juniore. Fancoforti* 1621, pages 6, 7.

† One of the first martyrs of Huss's reformation was a Pole. The indulgences being preached at Prague in 1411, two Bohemians, named Krzydelko and Halesz, and a Pole, called Stanislaw Paszek, a shoemaker by trade, excited by their zeal against such preposterous doctrines, proclaimed them in the midst of the churches where they were preached to be falsehoods. They paid with their lives their generous conduct. The inhabitants of Prague interred their bodies with great respect, and Huss preached a sermon at their burial.

Poland, which is sufficiently attested by the protestation presented by the Bohemians to the fathers of the council in favour of that reformer, on which occasion they were joined by all the Poles present at Constance; and Huss himself gives in one of his letters a most decisive evidence of the part which the Poles, and particularly an eminent nobleman of that nation, took in his defence.* Huss's fellow-martyr, Hieronymus of

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* *Hussi comites cum nobilitate Polonica quæ Constantiæ erat se conjungere communique opera prid. id Maii anni* 1415 *hæc ad Patres Concilii scribere : " Non potest sibi temperare venerandi patres, Bohemiæ Polonicæque gentis nobilitas, quæ jam hic est quin vobis qui frequentes jam iterum consedistis significet Illustrissimum principem ac dominum Sigismundum electum Imperatorem Rom. semper Augustum, Hungariæ, Croatiæ, Dalmatiæ Regem, ex quo in Bohemia nonnullas controversias exortas inaudiit, honoris illius regni ratione habita, de negotio hoc suscipiendo administrandoque et conficiendo cogitasse et denique M. J. Hussium sub fide publica per Desp. Venceslaum Dubeum, et Joannem Chlumæum, qui præsentes adsunt ad sacrum ocumenicum concilium vocandum atque deducendum curasse, ut adversariis fidei suæ rationem redderet, id quod despotæ illi quos diximus cum Joanne Hussio summisse prestiterunt. Hussium autem sub fide publica huc venientem, indicta causa duro carcere inclusum esse, in quo etiamnum vinculis constrictum fame sitique crucietur. Et licet in Concilio Pisano, anno* 1410, *qui condemnati fuerunt hæretici, tuti, securique aut inviolati domum reverti fuerunt. Noster tamen M. J. Hussius hoc impetrasse non potuit, ac neque convictus, neque condamnatus, sed inauditus, antequam ullius regis, principis aut academiæ legati advenissent in carcerem conjectus est. Imperatore quoque uno cum hisce qui hic adsunt nobilibus, sæpe a vobis postulante, ut decoris suæ fidei que publica ratione habita, M. Joannem*

Prague, had spent some time in Poland, where he was called (1410), in order to organise the univer-

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M. Joannem Hussium audiretis, fidei suæ rationem publice postularetis, convictumque, quod sacræ scripturæ contraria docuisset, de concilii sententia corrigere cogeretis : non tamen impetrare voluisse, sed quem jam sæpe dicimus M. Hussium duriori carceri inclusum, arctioribus vinculis constrictum, illiberali cibo pastum atque ita consumptum esse, ut periculum sit ne eum corporis, animi quoque sui vires deficiant. Et licet hi despotæ, qui jam hic adsunt apud Bohemos omnes male forte audituri sint, propterea quod, quid de Hussio fiat videant, nec tamen rem apud Imperatorem eo deducant, ut fides illa publicæ quu ipsi cautum est servetur præstiturque, nec adversariis eam violare vel infringere concedatur, propterea quod laudatissimo Bohemiæ regno quod a primo christianæ religionis exordio, nunquam a debita Romanæ ecclesiæ obedientia deflexit, atque descivit contumeliosum est, ne tamen sancti concilii turbandi ansa præbueretur, omnia ista in hanc usque horam patientissime tulerunt. Proinde venerandi Patres ac domini, Bohemiæ Poloniæ que nobiles apud vos cupide etiam atque etiam instare voluerunt ut ex ratione fidei publicæ gloriæque tum regni, quod diximus, tum vestræ ipsorum amplificandæ in M. Joanni Hussi causam incumbatis remque maturetis (si quidem ingens in vestra mora periculum est) divinaque adjuti ope feliciter perficiatis, inquo quidem singularem de vobis spem conspiciunt. Præterea quoniam iidem, de quibus dictum est, despotæ resciverunt, a quibusdam Bohemicæ gentis calumniatoribus sparsum esse, a quibusdam in Bohemia sacratissimum Domini nostri Jesu Christi sanguinis sacramentum in profanis vasis circumferri, item a sutoribus peccata confitentes audiri, sacramque cœnam distribui: id circo orant ne hujusmodi calumniatoribus ullam fidem habeatis; propterea quod nefarii isti nebulones in regnum ita calumniantes, nihili homines esse perspicietis, quibus re ita postulante, ad frigidas suas jejunasque calumnias ita respondebimus ut A. M. S. vestraque ora turpe

sity of Cracow.* The above circumstances united in communicating to Poland all the opinions which had sprung up in Bohemia, and ensured them a rapid success.

Spread of Hussite doctrines in Poland.

The fact that the Hussite doctrines were widely spread in Poland is sufficiently attested, by the laws which the influence of the clergy enacted

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turpe erubescant."—Vide Bellum Hussiticum a Zacharia Theobaldo juniore, Francoforti, 1621, page 30.

"*Poloni tanquam strenues defensores veritatis Dei, opponerunt se sæpius toti concilio pro liberatione mea. D. Wenceslaus de Leszna intrepidus et zelosus veritatis defensor, an.* 1415."—We have extracted this letter from a very rare work (found in the Brit. Mus.) ent. "*Visiones nocturnæ Stephani Melish, civis Lesnensis,* 1659," 12mo.

*"*Eodem anno* 1410, *M. Hieronymus qui doctior perhibebatur a Poloniæ Rege Academiæ suæ constituendæ gratia Cracoviam et inde rebus suis confectis ad Sigismundum Hungariæ Regem evocari.*"—Idem, pag. 18.

There lived at the same time another Hieronymus of Prague, but of different religious opinions with his namesake. After having spent twenty years at the convent of Camaldoli in Italy, he returned to his native city of Prague, which he left again on account of the doctrines of Huss spreading there. He went to Poland, whence King Jaguellon sent him to Lithuania in order to co-operate at the conversion of its inhabitants, which he did with great success. He was afterwards present at the Council of Basil, where Eneas Sylvius (afterwards Pope Pius the Second) heard from him an account of the conversions he had effected in Lithuania as well as of the idolatry of the inhabitants that country. *Eneæ Sylvii Europ. cap.* 26.

against heresy during the fifteenth century. The Holy Inquisition had been established in Poland already, in the fourteenth century, against the sect of the Fratricelli, but we cannot trace any serious persecution of the sectarians. The archbishop of Gniezno convoked in 1416 a synod at Wielun, which established some very severe regulations against the Hussites.

The Synod of Lenczyca, held in 1423, adopted likewise very severe resolutions against the Bohemian heresy. It enjoined the parish priests to imprison and to bring before the bishops all those who were suspected of favouring the new doctrines. It was forbidden to all the directors of schools to receive teachers who came from Bohemia, and the intercourse with that country was to be prevented by all possible means. The fathers were prohibited to give any assistance whatever to their children going to Bohemia, or professing heretical opinions. It was also particularly recommended carefully to examine the books which were used by the parish priests. This last circumstance evidently proves that the doctrines of Huss were spreading amongst the lower clergy, and that books containing his opinions were circulating in the country. The circulation of Hussite books in Poland is moreover confirmed by the great number of Roman Catholic works published at that time in Poland

against the Bohemian heresy, and which must have been very prevalent if it called for such a remedy. The Roman Catholic clergy were, indeed, too good politicians to expatiate without necessity upon heretical doctrines, the knowledge of which alone was already fraught with danger of infecting the minds of the people, whose orthodoxy they wanted to preserve.

The regulations of that clergy which we have mentioned were confirmed and proclaimed by the king in 1424, and heresy was declared high treason. Several diets enacted similar laws, which remained, however, a dead letter, and the influence of the clergy which had originated them was not sufficiently great to ensure their execution. Martinus of Brzesc, *magister hereticæ pravitatis*, strongly recommended (1437) to the magistrates to arrest and bring to his tribunal all persons infected with Bohemian errors. The regency which governed the country during the minority of Vladislav the IIId, gave in 1438 power to Nicolas of Lenczyca, also a *magister hereticæ pravitatis*, to act against the sectarians, who were to be punished according to the ordinances of Emperor Frederic the IId, and the civil authorities were enjoined to assist the inquisitors. The Dominican monk, Martinus de Kace, obtained in 1464 an authorization from the monarch to act against the heretics; yet, in

spite of this formidable array of laws and regulations, by which the Roman Catholic church sought to repress the growing heresy, its efforts proved unavailing.

Poland had only one auto-da-fé, where some Hussites were burnt: but this act of atrocity was perpetrated in a time of general trouble, on the sole authority of a bishop, and in a manner which resembled more an act of private vengeance than of public justice, executed in consequence of established laws.* There may have been some secret victims sacrificed in the darkness of some convent, and chosen from amongst the lower classes of society; but it was impossible to seize any individual belonging to the numerous class of nobles without a formal condemnation by a competent tribunal. Poland acquired, in the fifteenth century, its *habeas corpus*. The fundamental principle of the Polish constitution, the *neminem captivare permittimus nisi jure victum*, was established in 1450. Many of

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* Andreas Bninski, bishop of Posnania, collected nine hundred horsemen, besieged the town of Zbonszyn, and compelled the inhabitants to deliver to him five Hussite preachers, whom he burnt publicly, 1439. The same bishop, who was so cruel to heretics, was very lenient to the vices and profligacy of his own clergy: — "*In clericos impudicos suæ ecclesiæ suæque diocesis parum severus et rigidus, multorum tolerans scandala et vitia, ne illos sibi efficeret infimos,*" says Dlugosz.

the first families in the country openly embraced the Bohemian doctrines without being subjected to any persecution; and even Sophia, queen of Vladislav Jaguellon, was favourably disposed to the new doctrines.*

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* We must not omit mentioning a remarkable fact, relating to the religious state of Poland, which happened in that country during the fifteenth century. Andreas Galka Dobszynski, or of Dobszyn, *magister artium* of the university of Cracow, expounded with some others the works of Wicliff at Cracow, about 1449, and wrote a hymn in honour of the English reformer. We think that our readers will take some interest in the translation of that curious document, and we give it to them as literal as possible:—

"Ye Poles, Germans, and all nations! Wicliff speaks the truth! Heathendom and Christendom had never a greater man than he, and never will have one.

"Whoever wishes to know himself, let him approach Wicliff; whoever will enter the ways which he has pointed out will never leave them, and never will err.

"He has unveiled divine wisdom, human knowledge, and things that were hidden to philosophers.

"He has written by inspiration about the ecclesiastical dignity, the sanctity of the church, the Italian antichrist, and the wickedness of the popes.

"Ye priests of Christ, who were called in by Christ, follow Wicliff.

"The imperial popes are antichrists; their power is derived from the antichrist—from imperial German grants.

"Sylvester, the first pope, took his power from the dragon Constantine, and diffused his venom over all the churches.

"Led by Satan, Sylvester deceived the emperor, and got possession of Rome by fraud.

"We

Political relations between Poland and Bohemia during the Hussitan wars.

We must briefly delineate the political relations which existed between Poland and Bohemia, during the period when the Hussitan doctrines were flourishing in the last-named country, and which naturally contributed to the spreading of them in Poland.

We have enumerated the many ties that connected both the countries, and it was natural that Bohemia looked for assistance, in its struggle against Germanism and Romanism, to Poland, which had recently acquired a great increase of power, since the accession to its throne of Jaguellon, grand duke of Lithuania, in 1386. The Bohemians, influenced by the moderate party

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"We wish for peace—let us pray to God; let us sharpen the swords, and we shall conquer the antichrist. 'Let us strike the antichrist with the sword, but not with one made of iron,' Saint Paul says: 'kill the antichrist with the sword of Christ.'

"Truth is the heritage of Christ. The priests have hidden the truth; they are afraid of it, and they deceive people with fables.

"O Christ! for the sake of thy wounds, send us such priests as may guide us towards the truth and may bury the antichrist."

The author of this hymn was obliged to retire from Cracow; but he found a refuge at the court of Boleslav the Vth, prince of Oppeln, in Silesia, who professed the doctrines of Huss. Another curious circumstance is, that the celebrated Polish printer, Fiol, who printed the first book with Slavonian or Cyrillic letter (1491), was obliged to leave Cracow for some time, on account of his Hussite opinions.

called the Praguians, sent an embassy in 1420, offering the throne of their country to Vladislav Jaguellon, king of Poland; but that monarch, of a naturally irresolute character, gave them no positive answer, although he received the delegates with great kindness. He desired to know the precise conditions upon which the crown was offered, and to ascertain the opinion of his own senate. There were, indeed, some weighty reasons against the hasty acceptance of the proffered crown. A war with the Emperor, who considered Bohemia as his hereditary kingdom, would have been an inevitable consequence; the German knights, excited by that monarch, would also in that case attack Poland. Jaguellon was more anxious to crush the above-mentioned knights—who, in spite of their defeat at the battle of Grünwald,* ceased not to be his most

* The battle of Grünwald, or Tannenberg, fought on the 22d July 1410, is one of the most celebrated in the history of Poland. The knights of Prussia were entirely defeated on that day by the united forces of Poland and Lithuania. They lost, according to contemporary historians, the immense number of fifty thousand men; the Grand Master of the order, Ulrich de Jungingen, was killed, and many officers of distinction taken prisoners. The advantages of that great victory were, however, entirely lost to Poland by the supineness of King Vladislav Jaguellon, and a peace was concluded in the ensuing year; but the victorious party derived from it no real advantage. A very memorable circumstance of the above-mentioned battle is, that John Trocznowski, or of Trocznow, who, under the name of Ziska,

formidable enemies—than to acquire Bohemia, which was then divided by several factions. Nicolas Hussenets, a powerful magnate, was aiming at the possession of the crown of his country; the celebrated Ziska was at the head of the Taborites, who, imbued with a feeling of nationality, and inclining towards republican principles, were much averse to the rule of a king, and particularly to that of a foreigner. The emperor himself had still a strong party in the country, and the Bohemian diet of Czaslaw proposed to him conditions; but when these conditions were rejected, the Bohemians turned again towards Poland. They sent a solemn embassy, where the nobility were represented by Hinek de Walstein and Halek de Wrzesnow, the clergy by John Cardinalis and the English-

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Ziska, became afterwards the celebrated leader of the Hussites, and who acquired his military skill in the Polish service, has distinguished himself on that occasion. We have extracted this notice from the learned Jesuit Balbinus, who says: "*Nemo virum hunc (Ziskam) rudem militiæ hoc tempore fuisse suspicietur. Narrat idem Zalanski* (a Bohemian writer), *Polonis ante diu militasse et Lithuanis, ac Pruthenicis bellis omnibus interfuisse, ac præsertim in cruentissimo prælio in quo crucigeri cæsi sunt* 1410, *maximum ad victoria attulisse momentum.*" Balbinus, Epitome Rerum Bohemicarum, Prague, 1677, page 424. The same author relates, page 464-5, that Ziska was in the habit of wearing the Polish dress, and to trim his mustachios after the Polish fashion.

man Peter Payne,* and the towns by Mickocz and Staniczka, consuls or aldermen of Prague. The conditions on which the Bohemian delegates offered the throne of their country to the king

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* Peter Payne was born in Lincolnshire, at a place called Haugh or Hough, three miles from Grantham. He studied at Oxford in Edmund's Hall, of which he was principal, 1410-15. (Vide List of the Principals of Edmund Hall, in the Oxford University Calendar; also Wood's History of Oxford, page 216.) It is impossible to ascertain the precise time when Payne arrived at Bohemia, where he enjoyed a high consideration amongst the Hussites, and was sent as a delegate to the Council of Basil in 1433. Lenfant describes him as a man of deep learning, who particularly employed himself in explaining the obscure places in Wicliff's writings. The Roman Catholic writer Cochleus gives the following account of Peter Payne:—"*Petrus Payne ingeniosus magister Oxoniensis, qui articulos Wiclephi ex libris ejus punctatim et seriatim deduxit, et suis opusculis pestiferis imposuit, arte inferiores sed veneno pervicatiores: quæ Wicleph obscure posuit, iste explanavit: ipse suo pravo ingenio non solum fieret errorum Wiclephi doctor, sed approbator et auctor, augmentator et promulgator, hujus purissimi regni Bohemiæ primarius et perniciosissimus infector et destructor. Taboritis maxime favebat, sectator Wiclephi obstinatissimus, Pragam cum libris ejus profugit.*"—Cochleus, Historia Hussitarum. We think that Cochleus is not correct in calling Payne *primarius infector* of Bohemia, as the opinions of Wicliff had been promulgated there many years before the arrival of Peter Payne. Vide note in p. 59. Payne is supposed tohave died at Prague in 1455. The details of the various negotiations between Bohemia and Poland are taken chiefly from Dlugosz, whose evidence upon that subject was also adopted by Lenfant, in his *Histoire des Guerres des Hussites.*

of Poland were—the communion of two kinds, the national liturgy, an unlimited liberty of preaching the gospel, the confiscation of the estates of the Roman Catholic Church, and the confirmation of all the national liberties. They represented the motives which should make him accept the proposed crown as follows:—a common language and origin; the reunion of Silesia with Poland, and even the union into one monarchy of Poland, Bohemia, and Moravia, which would form a most powerful estate, destroy Austria, and give to the new Slavonian empire a decided supremacy over all its neighbours. Yet these extraordinary advantages could not overcome the irresolution of Jaguellon. The clergy, whose influence was great in the senate, opposed the Bohemians; and the idea of becoming the head of an heresy terrified the aged monarch, although by no means a bigot. Yet the advantages offered by the Bohemians were too brillant to be rejected altogether, and the king therefore amused them with evasive answers. The delegates offered the throne of Bohemia to Vitold, grand-duke of Lithuania, cousin to the king. Vitold, although a bold and ambitious prince, dared not to accept openly the proposed sovereignty, but adopted a middle course, evidently with the consent of Jaguellon. He sent his relative, Prince Sigismund Coributt, with considerable forces and a large sum of money, to assist the Bohemians.

A Polish prince is sent with an army to the assistance of the Hussites.

This important act was a recognition of the rights of the Hussites; and the Bohemian Diet, 1421, emboldened by the assistance of the Polish forces, rejected in a decisive manner the claims of the emperor to the throne of their country. The Bohemians again offered the sovereignty, either to Jaguellon or to Vitold, and in case they should refuse, to Sigismund Coributt. But Jaguellon was not only irresolute, but even on the point of joining the emperor, who amused him with a delusive promise of restoring Silesia to Poland. The negotiations with the emperor were, however, soon broken off by the want of mutual confidence. Jaguellon assisted his relative with new forces, and gave by it an important support to the Hussites, whose doctrine was publicly adopted by Coributt, educated in the Greek persuasion. Coributt entered Prague, and was proclaimed regent of Bohemia. The Pope sent a fulminating message to Vitold, prohibiting him to assist the Bohemian heresy, and absolving him at the same time from every obligation he might have entered into with the heretics. Vitold, in his answer to the Pope, acknowledged that he had accepted the proposed crown of Bohemia and assisted the Bohemians; but expressed his hopes that the heresy might be subdued by conciliatory measures, and requested that the excommunication pronounced against the Bohemians should be withdrawn.

The answer of Vitold proves that he was by no means a bigoted Catholic; we do not believe, however, that he had any particular leaning to the Hussite doctrines: ambition was his creed, and he confessed himself that he did not understand much about religion. Had he been permitted, he would have undoubtedly given such assistance to the Bohemians as to ensure their final success; but the irresolute character of Jaguellon, without whose co-operation, or at least consent, he could do nothing to further the desired object, lost a fair opportunity for establishing the greatness of the Slavonian race, by the union of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia with the extensive dominions of Poland and Lithuania.

Coributt met with great difficulties in maintaining his new dignity, amidst the confusion of parties which unfortunately at that time divided the Bohemians. He succeeded, however, in overcoming those difficulties; and Ziska, who had formerly been opposed to him, acknowledged him as regent of the country. The Praguians wished to elect Coributt king of Bohemia, and to confirm the new order of things by his solemn coronation: the accomplishment of that project was prevented by the hostility of the higher nobility, because Coributt leaned for support chiefly on that party which was inclined to push the consequences of political and religious reform farther than they wished or thought it expedient to do.

Had Jaguellon been steady in his friendship to the Bohemians, Coributt would have easily overcome all the obstacles to the throne; but the wavering mind of his royal relative marred the accomplishment of a scheme, which every consideration of a sound policy should have urged him to promote. The Bohemian embassy, which arrived to request the confirmation of Coributt's regency, was ill received by Jaguellon, who reproached them with the troubles and anarchy which desolated Bohemia. It is very likely that the disorders unavoidable on a state of revolution, and particularly so in a religious warfare, raised apprehensions in the mind of the Polish monarch lest they might extend to his country, and inclined him to lend a willing ear to the suggestions of Rome. He listened to the delusive promises of the emperor; sent orders to Coributt to abandon the Bohemians, who were to be attacked by the united forces of Poland and those of the emperor. Yet this holy war, as it was called by the Pope, supported by rich donations of the clergy, was not even begun; but the fickle and unwise policy of Jaguellon was exceedingly prejudicious to the Polish influence in Bohemia. The spirit of party was roused, and the regent, unable to maintain himself, was obliged to retire. Coributt resumed again his dignity as regent of Bohemia, and convoked the diet of Czaslav in 1424, in order to bring about the reconciliation between the Tabo-

rites and the Praguians, the two principal parties which at that time divided Bohemia. Coributt's efforts obtained a momentary success, and he was elected king, chiefly by the influence of the Praguians or Calixtines, partisans of a moderate reform, and who retained much of the Roman hierarchy and doctrines. Coributt made propositions to Rome for a reconciliation with the church. This raised a suspicion amongst the Taborites, who, afraid of the restoration of the papal dominion, took up arms. A domestic war ensued. Ziska, the chief of the Taborites, obtained a bloody victory over the Praguians, and the negotiations with Rome were broken. After the death of Ziska, Coributt regained his influence, and commanded the Praguians and the Polish auxiliary troops at the battle of Aussig,* where

* The battle of Aussig, on the banks of the Elbe, close to the Saxon frontiers, took place in 1426 Aussiga, strong fortified place occupied by Roman Catholics, was besieged by the Hussites of all parties. The Taborites and Orphans were commanded by Procopius the Tonsured, who had succeeded Ziska; and the Praguians by Sigismund Coributt, who had always a strong body of Polish troops. A numerous army of Germans, under the command of the Margrave of Misnia, entered Bohemia in order to assist the Catholics; but they were entirely routed by the Hussitan forces, although much inferior in numbers. This victory was very important to the cause of the Hussites; and if Polish valour has rendered a signal service to the cause of Christendom under the walls of Vienna, it may claim some merit for having supported that of the reformed doctrines at

the political and religious liberties of Bohemia were saved from an imminent danger by a most brilliant victory over the invading Germans. Bohemia continued, however, to be torn by factions; and Coributt, unsupported by Jaguellon, abdicated the royal dignity at the diet of 1427, and left the country. He revisited Bohemia in 1430, where he joined the party of the Orphans': but, after some adventurous expeditions in Silesia and Lusatia, he finally returned to Poland.*

Notwithstanding the unwise line of policy which Jaguellon had pursued towards the Bohemians, they constantly turned their eyes to Poland, expecting the most effective assistance from a consanguine nation, whose sympathies were en-

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at the battle of Aussig, as well as on many occasions where the Polish auxiliaries took an efficient part in the struggle of the Bohemians for their religious and political liberty. Besides the troops sent under Coributt, many Poles, attracted by their sympathies for a consanguine nation, and professing the Hussite doctrines, constantly flocked to the victorious standard of their ancient companion in arms Ziska (vide note, p. 70). We may mention amongst them Gizowski, who had been commander of the guards to king Jaguellon, and who joined afterwards Ziska with a select band of wariors. The part which Coributt took at the battle of Aussig is not mentioned by Lenfant, but it is related in the Bohemian chronicle of Hagek of Liboczan. Vide its German translation, Leipsic, 1718, p. 728.

* Coributt is the ancestor of the princely family Wisznio wiecki, now extinct, a member of which, Michel Wiszniowiecki mounted the throne of Poland in 1669.

listed in their cause. A deputation of Taborites disputed publicly at Cracow about religion in 1427; but the most important transaction between Poland and Bohemia is the public disputation which was holden at Cracow in 1431, between the Hussite deputies of Bohemia and the Roman Catholic doctors of the university of Cracow. The disputation was carried on in the presence of the king and the senate; and it is to be remarked that the Bohemians were represented on that occasion not only by the moderate Calixtine party, whom the council of Basil admitted into the community of the church, but even by all the branches of the followers of Huss. The Bohemian delegates on that occasion were the celebrated Procopius, the bald or tonsured chief of the Taborites; the Englishman, Peter Payne, who represented the Orphans; Biedrzyk, Straznicczka, and William Kostka, deputies of the Praguians, or Calixtines. Unfortunately, the chronicles have left no details about that polemical meeting. Dlugosz, who relates that memorable transaction, only says that the conferences, which lasted several days, were almost continually held in Polish; and that although, according to the opinion of all present, ecclesiastics as well as laics, the heretics were vanquished, they never acknowledged their defeat. But the fact alone that heretical tenets were suffered to be publicly discussed, is sufficient to prove the state of public

A public disputation between the delegates of the Hussites and the doctors of university of Cracow takes place at Cracow, in the presence of the king and the senate.

opinion which prevailed at that time in Poland, about religious matters.

Favourable reception of a Hussite embassy by the Polish bishops; but the bishop of Cracow foils, by his violent zeal, their conciliatory views.

A Bohemian embassy which arrived in Poland in 1432, in order to propose an alliance against the German knights, was received with great honours by king Jaguellon, who was then at Vislitza; and the Polish clergy admitted the Bohemians into their churches, notwithstanding they remained under the papal excommunication. This conciliatory measure was adopted by the archbishop of Gniezno, by the bishops of Vladislav, Poznania, and Chelm. It was violently opposed by cardinal Zbigniew, bishop of Cracow, zealously devoted to the interests of Rome; and the exertions of that bigoted prelate, who having succeeded in exciting a riot amongst the populace of Cracow, shut the town against the heretics, and destroyed, by menaces and intrigues, the views of those who wished to establish a connexion between Poland and Bohemia. The king was so irritated against the bishop of Cracow, that he intended to put him to death, but was dissuaded from committing that violent action by John Tarnowski, palatine of Cracow.

The manifold relations between Poland and Bohemia, which we have described, naturally contributed to the spread of Hussite doctrines in our country. The effects of those doctrines began to manifest themselves during the minority of Vladislav of Varna, surnamed thus on account of

his heroic death, 1444, at the battle which bears the name of that place. We have already expressed that many great families in Poland had publicly embraced the doctrines of Huss. Some of those grandees, Abraham Zbonski, Spytek Melsztynski, John Straz, and others made (1435) a confederation * for religious and political purposes. They refused the payment of tithes, and demanded a limitation of the royal power, and the correction of several abuses. In 1439 the confederates manifested bolder designs; they proclaimed an abolition of tithes, as well as of church censures and excommunications; they demanded a change in the Roman hierarchy, and that the enormous estates of the clergy should be appropriated to objects of general utility. Besides these religious subjects, they entertained political schemes of a most daring character. They wished to prevent Vladislav from succeeding to the throne of his father, and some of them went so

Revolutionary movements of the Polish Hussites.

* The nobles of Poland had the right to form an association for the defence, even by force of arms, of the national liberties, if they were threatened by some danger. Such associations were called *Confederations*, and they gave birth to a power which could save, as well as destroy the country. Poland has often suffered from that dangerous privilege; but it has also been sometimes saved from the most imminent danger, by the application of that violent remedy. Such was, for instance, the confederation of Tyszowce in 1655, as well as the patriotic although unsuccessful confederation of Bar in 1768.

far as to wish for an abolition of the royal dignity. Spytek Melsztynski, the principal leader of that party, who had established in all his estates the Hussite mode of worship, was excommunicated by Zbigniew, bishop of Cracow, and excluded from the senate. Melsztynski assembled an army, devastated the domains of the bishop of Cracow, and seized the town of Zator, whence the capital derived its principal supplies. The council of regency which governed the country during the minority of the king, dared not to oppose Melsztynski, who had a large party in the country, but entered into negociations with him. The heretical grandee consented to disband his troops, and received a ransom of one thousand marks for the town of Zator. The movement of heresy which had triumphed on that occasion, soon re-appeared in a more formidable manner: it was excited by the dowager queen Sophia, secretly attached to the Bohemian doctrines and hostile to the council of regency, which was checking her influence. Melsztynski assembled forces more considerable than before, defeated the troops of the regency, and established his camp in a strong position near the capital. Had he been able to occupy Cracow and take hold of the reins of the government, there would have probably been an end of Romanism in Poland. He, however, lost his life in an engagement; his party was routed, and the body of their leader, as that

After a momentary success, they are defeated.

of an avowed heretic, was left unburied on the field of battle.

It was shortly after the defeat and death of Melsztynski, that Bninski, bishop of Posen, seized and burnt the Hussite preachers to whom we have already alluded.*

The relations between Bohemia and Poland, which had been interrupted for some time, were resumed again in 1438. Barbara, widow of the emperor Sigismund III., persecuted on account of her religions opinions, retired to Poland. The youthful king Vladislav received the imperial refugee with all the regard due to her exalted station and great misfortune, and assigned the extensive demesnes of Sandomir for her maintenance. Barbara, who had retained a great influence in Bohemia, induced the Bohemians to elect for their monarch Casimir Jaguellon, brother to the king of Poland; and the Polish diet, held at Korczyn, acknowledged that election, in spite of the Roman Catholic opposition. Casimir marched at the head of a Polish army to take possession of his sovereignty, and was immediately acknowledged by Silesia. The Roman Catholic party of Bohemia elected Albert, archduke of Austria, in opposition to Casimir. Casimir occupied Moravia; and the Polish forces, united with the Hussites, took Kuttenberg and Sobieslaw, two

The Hussite party elects Casimir Jaguellon, prince of Poland, king of Bohemia; but several circumstances prevent his taking possession of the throne.

* Vide note, page 67.

important towns of Bohemia. Casimir's progress was arrested by the treason of the count of Cilly, but particularly by the interminable dissentions between the Taborites and Calixtines; and the hostilities were suspended by the efforts of the council of Basil. A congress was held at Breslau, in order to arrange a pacification between the contending parties. The Polish delegates proposed that Casimir Jaguellon and Albert of Austria should equally resign their respective claims to the crown of Bohemia, and submit them to a diet of that country, which should freely decide upon the respective merits of the two candidates. This truly liberal proposition was rejected by Albert of Austria, who was afraid that the Polish party, supported by the Hussites, would have prevailed over his own, which leaned entirely on the Roman Catholics, who were at that time in great minority. The negociations were broken off, and the congresses which were afterwards held at Namyslaw and Lubusz, had no better result: but the council of Basil obtained a suspension of hostilities. The change of circumstances prevented the Polish prince from prosecuting his rights to the Bohemian throne. His brother, Vladislav, was elected king of Hungary, and his attention became entirely absorbed with the affairs of Turkey. Casimir's adherents diminished in Bohemia by the increase of the party which, being adverse to every foreign influence, was

equally so to that of Poland, notwithstanding a common origin and a similar language. Casimir became king of Poland after the death of his brother, at the battle of Varna, in 1444, and the relations with Bohemia were renewed under his reign, by George Podiebrad, king of that country, elected by the influence of the moderate Hussites in 1458. Podiebrad, feeling that he was unable by himself to oppose Rome and Germany, sought support from Poland. He proposed to restore Silesia to Poland, to conclude an alliance against the German knights, and ensure the succession of his throne to a prince of the Polish dynasty. The congress of Bytom, which met in 1460 for the arrangement of the above-mentioned propositions, was unable finally to settle that important negociation, on account of some misunderstandings which arose between the Bohemian and Polish delegates respecting the succession of the Polish prince to the crown of Bohemia; an alliance was, however, concluded between the two countries against their respective foreign enemies, by which were understood Austria and the German knights. A personal meeting which took place, in 1462, at Glogow, between the king of Poland and that of Bohemia, confirmed and developed the treaty of Bytom. By a solemn recognition of Podiebrad's sovereignty, and by entering into a formal alliance with him, Casimir

Casimir having succeeded to the throne of Poland, supports George Podiebrad the Hussite king of Bohemia.

became the ally of the heretical party which Podiebrad represented, and by whose influence the reversion of the throne of Bohemia after his death was guaranteed to a prince of Poland. The Roman Catholic party felt the danger arising from an alliance between the Hussites and the king of Poland. They convened a diet at Iglau, under the influence of a Roman legate, and resolved to offer to Casimir the crown of Bohemia, as a hereditary sovereignty, and to give up to Poland some fine provinces, provided Casimir would dissolve the treaty of Glogow, and employ all his forces to crush the Hussites, instead of supporting them. Casimir remained, however, firm in his friendship to the Hussites, and rejected those brillant offers, which were brought to him by a solemn embassy. The catholic party offered, after Casimir's refusal, the throne of Bohemia to Mathias Corvin, king of Hungary; but Casimir intimated that he would never allow that the rights he had acquired by treaties should be infringed, and remained faithful in his alliance to the heretical and excommunicated Podiebrad, notwithstanding the complaints of the Pope, who reproached him as acting against the interests of Christianity. The Pope required that a crusade against the Hussites should be allowed to be preached in Poland; but Casimir severely prohibited such proceedings, and permit-

ted nothing to be done against his ally.* The high-minded policy of the Polish monarch obtained a merited reward. The assembled states of Bohemia nominated Vladislav, son to king Casimir, successor to Podiebrad, who was well aware of his inability to establish the sovereignty in his own family. It was only stipulated that the Polish prince should espouse Ludomilla daughter of Podiebrad, and that his sons should receive large desmesnes after the demise of their royal father.

The Polish clergy violently opposed, in the senate, the confirmation of that important transaction; they declaimed against a community with heresy, and an alliance with obstinate enemies of the Roman Catholic church, and urged that the king should conquer Bohemia with the sword, and crush the refractory sectarians by force. The opposition of the clergy proved, however, vain, and the senate ratified the election of the Polish prince. Casimir promised to obtain from the Pope the confirmation of the *compactata*, or the indulgences, which the council of Basil had granted to the Hussites.†

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* Vide Dlugosz; Raynaldus Bzovius, ad annos 1466-67-68-69.

† The council of Basil conceded, 1433, to the Hussites the following articles, which are known under the name of the Compactata:

The Polish Prince Vladislav, is elected King of Bohemia, by which the Jaguellonian dynasty was established on the throne of that country.

After the death of Podiebrad, in 1470, the states of Bohemia assembled at Kutno to confirm the previous election of Vladislav to the throne of their country; but although the rights of the Polish prince had been solemnly acknowledged by a national consent, they were opposed by several new competitors. Mathias Corvin king of Hungary, Albert margrave of Misnia, the emperor Frederic, and Henry son of the late king George Podiebrad, appeared as candidates to the throne. The claims of the Polish prince were, however, the best-founded, his rights were formally acknowledged by the nation and the late monarch; Bohemia was connected with Poland by a community of origin and similarity of language; its political and religious liberty had been saved by Polish assistance, and every consideration of a sound policy urged the Bohemians to promote a union which could afford the best security to the Slavonians against the ever-encroaching attempts of Germany. These weighty reasons were duly appreciated by the Bohemian states, who being surrounded by considerable national forces, and free from every foreign influence, proclaimed on the 27th May, 1471, Vladislav prince of Poland,

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Compactata:—1. The communion of two kinds. 2. The worship in the national language. 3. Marriage of Priests. 4. Secularisation of Church property.

sovereign of their country. This memorable event established for a long time the religious and political liberty of Bohemia, and the reign of Vladislav, and his son Lewis, 1471-1525, may be considered the most flourishing period of the history of that country; the epoch of a great intellectual development, which had prepared the golden era of its national literature.

We have expatiated perhaps too much on the relations which existed between Bohemia and Poland during the fifteenth century, in order to prove that our country was not without its share of merit in supporting the reformation of Huss, which had prepared the way for that of Luther; and, indeed, if the Germans may boast of having effected the reformation, we Slavonians may claim the honour of having laid its groundwork. Luther himself bears evidence to the deserts of Huss, by the following words: "John Huss," says Luther, "has weeded the vineyard of Christ from many thorns. He has condemned the scandal of the apostolical see. I have found a fertile and well-tilled ground. I rose against the Popish doctrines, and I destroyed them. Huss was the seed which ought to die, and to be buried, in order that it might germinate and grow."*

It is indeed extraordinary, that the Hussite doctrines, which widely circulated in Poland

* Michelet, Mémoires de Luther.

during the fifteenth century, had not obtained a complete triumph, and become the established religion of that country. It may be partly ascribed to the circumstance that the cause which had materially promoted the success of Huss's reformation in Bohemia, did not exist in Poland: we mean the struggle between the Slavonian and German elements, which rendered the doctrines of Huss the rallying point of the national party against the foreign influence, and gave to a religious opinion the mighty support of a political feeling. This element was entirely deficient in Poland, which, being independent, had no occasion to struggle for the maintenance of a nationality, threatened with destruction from a growing foreign influence, as was the case in Bohemia. The deplorable dissensions amongst the Hussites themselves, which had acted so prejudiciously to the cause of reformation in Bohemia, had also, no doubt, exercised a pernicious influence on its progress in Poland. Whatever may have been the cause of that failure, it cannot be sufficiently lamented, as the triumph of the Hussite doctrines in Poland would have undoubtedly led to the establishment of a scriptural religion amongst the greatest part, if not the whole Slavonian race, and might perhaps have produced an entire overthrow of Romanism in Europe. But, although Roman Catholicism remained the dominant church of Poland, and

Probable causes why the Hussite doctrines did not gain the upper-hand in Poland.

preserved unaltered its outward form, its spirit was much changed. Romanism, during the fifteenth century, was fast losing its hold upon the minds of the people in our country, who were much prepared for the reception of the reformed doctrines, and which accounts for their rapid spread in the ensuing century.

Religious and political state of Poland during the fifteenth century.

The university of Cracow, founded in 1400, contributed much to the intellectual progress of Poland during the fifteenth century, which is also the epoch of the development of its constitution. We have already mentioned, that the Polish *habeas corpus*, the *neminem captivare permittimus nisi jure victum*, was formally established in the middle of that century. The power of the king was circumscribed by the formation of a privy council of four senators, residing always with the monarch, without whose consent the royal acts had no legal validity, and who might be considered as responsible ministers of the crown. The national representation received a more definite form, by the division of the legislative body into the Senate, or House of Peers, and the Chamber of Nuncios, or House of Commons, at the Diet of Piotrkow, in 1453. The diet of 1459 is memorable on account of the great constitutional questions which were agitated in that assembly; but it deserves our particular notice from the opinions which John Ostrorog submitted to that diet on different political re-

forms, and which was afterwards embodied in his work, *Pro Reipublicæ Ordinatione, J. Ostrorog, &c.*, published without date and place.

Reform in the church proposed by Ostrorog to the Polish Diet of 1459.

Ostrorog was a man remarkable not only for his great learning, but also for the high rank he held in his country. His father was regent of Poland during the absence of king Vladislav on the unfortunate expedition of Varna; he was himself palatine of Poznania, and had obtained the dignity of a doctor of laws at the university of Padua, where the Polish nobles generally went in order to complete their studies. His opinions may be considered, therefore, not as those of an enthusiast, strongly impressed by ideas new to the community in which he lived, and whom he sought to convert to his own conviction; but they must be rather viewed as the expression of the opinions which were at that time entertained by the thinking part of the nation. The calm and dignified tone in which Ostrorog's work is written, gives an additional reason to suppose, that it contained the opinions of a moderate party wishing for reforms required by the necessities of the age, and not of some exalted promotors of violent measures. It would, however, be foreign to our subject to canvass the merits or demerits of the above-mentioned propositions, in reference to purely political matters, and we shall limit ourselves to giving a few extracts relating to the affairs of the church.

1. "There is no objection in recommending to the Pope this kingdom as a Catholic country, but it becomes not to proffer to him an unlimited obedience. The king of Poland is subject to none, and has no superior but God.

2. "It is unbecoming to address to the Pope humble and submissive letters. The king is not the subject of Rome; humility is not bad in itself, but when exaggerated, and shown to one who has authority in affairs of a purely spiritual nature, it becomes guilty. Christ has not submitted temporal affairs to the apostolical see; he has even said, that his kingdom was not of this world. The clergy should also bear the public burthens, equally with other citizens.

3. "If the bishops and all the clergy were, as they suppose to be, really spiritual, I would object, that the civil authority should direct the elections of the church dignities. The king would then distribute only the political dignities, and the clergy watch over the salvation of souls. Their ecclesiastical duties, and their worldly business, would be then entirely separated. But there is none who would investigate, and clearly explain the duties imposed on the clergy. Custom has prevailed; and in order to avoid greater evils, it is necessary to leave the elections to the king, who will choose persons of learning and of a meek character, and thus prevent mutual hatreds between laity and clergy.

4. "It is to be lamented, that Italian perversity impoverishes the kingdom of Poland by manifold exactions. Rome draws annually large sums, under the pretence of piety and religion, but in fact, by means of superstition. A bishop never gets his consecration without paying some thousands of ducats to the Roman pontiff, although the canon law leaves the consecration of bishops to archbishops. Our lenity and supineness have given the force of law to the Italian perversity and abuses. The annates were originally obtained for the expenses of a war against the Turks: war has ceased, and the annates have remained. It is not right, therefore, to continue longer this tax of mistaken piety. The Pope must not exercise tyranny under the pretence of religion.

5. "The bishop of Rome has invented a most unjust motive for imposing taxes — the war against the infidels. Poland, at least, should be exempted from them, as it leads to a constant warfare with the Moscovites, Turks, and Tartars. Being stationed on the limits of Christendom, Poland unceasingly defends the Christian countries. I think, therefore, that the national treasury could take the annates which are given to the Pope.*

6. "The clergy seek always to screen them-

* The payment of annates to the Pope was afterwards prohibited by the Diets of 1544, 1567, 1607, 1667.

selves, whenever they are called to assist the wants of the republic. They feign to have fears, when there should be none. They have probably forgotten, that all their superfluities should be the property of the poor. If, therefore, the clergy make an ill use of their goods, they commit robbery. There could be no purer alms, if the church would devote the goods that are given to the poor to their exclusive use.

7. "The king is accused, that he exacts from the estates of abbots and other clergy services; but our fathers have not endowed monasteries with rich donations, without any object. They meant that all which would remain from the maintenance of the monks, who ought to live modestly, should be devoted to the wants of the country. The king is equally blamed for having coined church plate into money. They have certainly not read St. Bernard, who says: 'The church has gold; not that it might possess it, but that it might give it to the needy.' The king took the church plate, because he was pressed by necessity; but Rome accumulates great riches by its jurisdiction. A law-suit lasts sometimes thirty years, and the parties die before it is ended. Rome takes no sheep without wool, and the country suffers great losses. It is true, that it receives I do not know what bulls—a fine exchange, indeed! There are, however, amongst us such people as respect the Roman scribblings,

furnished with red seals and hempen strings, and suspended on the door of a church. We must not submit to the Italian deceits. We have in our country bishops, archbishops, and even a primate: why should we not ourselves judge our own causes?

8. "Is it not a deceit that the Pope imposes upon us, in spite of the king and the senate, I do not know what bulls, called indulgences. He gets money by assuring people that he absolves their sins; but God has said by his prophet: 'My son, give me thy heart, and not money.' The Pope feigns that he employs his treasures for the erection of churches; but, in fact, he employs them to enrich his relations. I will pass over in silence things that are still worse. There are monks who praise such fables. There are a great number of preachers and confessors who only think how to get the richest harvest, and who indulge themselves in luxuries after having plundered the poor people.

9. "After Rome, our own country is the greatest sink of simony and deceit. The clergy sell burials, extreme unctions, penitences, baptisms, and marriages, which should all be administrated gratis. The bishopricks were erected and endowed that they might pay the ministers of the church. The tithes were formerly given by the rich, and not by the poor; but now the poor give tithes to the rich. Is this the application

of the precept: 'I require mercy and not sacrifice.'

10. "It is very bad, that convents are filled with idle and incapable people. St. Paul recommends to be cautious in bestowing ordination: what scandal and what abuses have not arisen from such people! After having shaven his head, and endued a cowl, one thinks himself fit to correct all the world. He cries and almost bellows in the pulpit, because he sees no opponent. Learned men, and even those who possess an inferior degree of knowledge, cannot listen without horror to the nonsense, and almost blasphemy, uttered by such preachers.

11. "People such as are the least qualified for it enter generally the ecclesiastical order; because idleness is an agreeable thing, a blessed repose. They have been probably induced to it by St. Paul, who says: 'If a man desireth the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work.' But they have not thought that to desire episcopacy for its advantages is a bad thing.

12. "The number of labourers and mechanics is continually diminishing. The reason of that diminution is, that every body likes to wear the cowl, in order to lead an idle and useless life. As it is the duty of public authority to take care that idleness and vagrancy should not spread over the country, it should be therefore enacted, that the towns should not admit such numbers

of monks and German mendicants. Mendicity should be suppressed. The convents ought to feed and to clothe the poor. The Pope generally takes the goods of bishops dying intestate. Is the Pope not yet sufficiently provided for? It is much more becoming that they should be appropriated by the public treasury."

This view of the Roman Catholic church, exposed by a senator of the realm, before the king and the assembled states of the country, contains a censure of that church as bitter as any Hussite might have uttered on the same subject. It is no wonder, therefore, that the reforms proposed by Ostrorog were called by Roman Catholic authors, *seeds of disobedience and rapacity;* because their adoption would be a complete separation from Rome. Although Ostrorog did not attack the tenets of the Roman Church, his derision of the indulgences was sapping their foundation.

The communion of two kinds which was the great object of the Bohemian reformers, was left untouched by Ostrorog; but his bold accusation of Roman corruption and abuses, and his decided demand for their effective redress, exhibit a spirit of opposition no less daring than that of the dogmatical reformers of Bohemia.

Sketch of the oriental church of Poland during that period.

Before we conclude this part of our history, we must give a brief sketch of the oriental church in Poland, which extended its domination over

a great part of the country, and constituted an element hostile to the Roman see.

The Slavonians inhabiting the country from the lake of Ladoga to Kiof, and from Kiof to the Dniester and the Carpathian mountains, being converted to Christianity by the influence of Constantinople, entered the communion of the eastern church. They were divided into several tribes, designated by different names, previously to the arrival of the Varingians or Normans; but since the establishment of the Varingian dynasty under Rurik, in the latter part of the ninth century, they assumed the general denomination of Russians. The successors of Vladimir the Great, who divided his extensive empire, formed many independent principalities, extending from the banks of the Volga to the Carpathian ridge; but although those principalities continued under the same general denomination of the Russian ones, and were ruled by princes descending from the same Norman dynasty of Rurik, they were separated not only politically, but also as regards the origin of their respective populations. The north-eastern principalities—as, for instance, those of Vladimir, Rezan, Twer—were inhabited by a Slavonian race, differing much in their habits and dialect from the Slavonians of the south-western regions. Besides the Slavonians, the population of the above-mentioned principalities was composed of a strong

admixture of Finnish race, entirely distinct from the Slavonian.

The south-western principalities, as those of Kiof, Lutzk, Halich, were inhabited by Slavonians to whom Nestor gives the names of Polane, Tivertzec, Buzane, derived, as he says, from local circumstances, and whom he positively states to be the same as the Lechs or Poles inhabiting the banks of the Vistula. The Mongols having established their domination about the middle of the thirteenth century over the north-eastern principalities, completed their separation from the south-western, which although ravaged by the Asiatic invaders, escaped their final domination. Amongst those principalities the most important was that of Halich, comprising a vast tract of rich country situated between Poland, Hungary, and Lithuania. The geographical situation of that principality established a constant relation of war and peace with Poland and Hungary, and separated it from the north-eastern states of Russia in such a manner that there is no trace of any diplomatical intercourse between them, since the establishment of the domination of the Mongols. The principality of Halich was united to Poland in 1340, not by mere conquest, but by the right of succession to its sovereignty, claimed by Casimir the Great at the extinction of the reigning family. That wise monarch ensured at once that important acquisition to his country by confirming

all ancient rights and privileges of the inhabitants, and by extending to them all those liberties which Poland already enjoyed at that time.

The other principalities of south-western Russia, which since the invasion of the Mongols remained in a very disturbed state, were overrun and conquered almost without resistance by Gedimin, grand-duke of Lithuania, about 1320. These principalities, which formed the most important provinces of Lithuania, became united with Poland by the rule of a common sovereign at the accession of the Jaguellonian dynasty to the throne of Poland, 1380. Thus Poland acquired during the fourteenth century, almost without drawing the sword, several million subjects professing the tenets of the Greek church.

The privileges which were granted to the inhabitants of Halich were suspended by the diet of Horodlo, in 1413, when the influence of the clergy wrested from the king Jaguellon a law, by which all those who did not belong to the Roman Catholic church were excluded from the office and dignities of the state. This enactment, which appears not to have been carried into effect, was revoked under the reign of Jaguellon's son, Vladislav of Varna, who restored the followers of the Greek church to rights equal with those of the Roman Catholics, by a solemn decree published in 1443.

The first metropolitan of Kiof was instituted

about 990, by the patriach of Constantinople. Since that time the metropolitans of that city, who presided over all the churches of Russia, continued to be consecrated at Constantinople, and were chosen chiefly amongst Greeks. After the capture of Constantinople by the Latins, when the imperial seat, as well as that of the patriarch, were transferred to Nicea, the metropolitans of Russia were consecrated in that city until the expulsion of the Latins by Michel Paleologos, when things returned to their ancient order. After the destruction of Kiof by the Mongols, 1240, the metropolitans resided generally at Vladimir, on the Klasma, in the north-western part of Russia, which was the seat of the grand-duke of Russia, vassal to the successors of Genghischan. After the union of Kiof and other principalities of Russia with Lithuania, the metropolitans of Vladimir, which was absorbed in progress of time by the growing power of Moscow, sought to maintain their supremacy over those parts by all possible means, and sometimes even resided in the country. Notwithstanding all those efforts, a complete separation between the Greek churches of Moscow and Lithuania took place in 1415, when the bishops of the last-named country assembled at Novogrodek, elected Gregorius Zamblak metropolitan of Kiof, whose successors continued independent of Moscow, acknowledging the spiritual supremacy of

the patriarch of Constantinople as long as they remained under the domination of Poland. Kiof was pillaged, in 1484, at the instigation of Moscow, by the chan of Crimea, who sent, as a present to the sovereign of Moscow, a part of the church-plate plundered at Kiof.

The Popes have made numerous attempts at converting the Russian schismatics, as the followers of the eastern church are called by them.

There seems to have been an intercourse between Rome and the grand-duke, Vladimir, who established the Christian religion in Russia, in 988, as the patriarch of Constantinople advised that prince to break off every correspondence with the Pope. A bishop was sent by Benedict the Eighth to Kiof, but without producing any effect. The grand-duke of Kiof, Iziaslaf, being expelled from his throne and country by his own brother, in 1073, sought refuge at the court of the emperor, Henry the Fourth, and dispatched his son to Rome, in order to supplicate Gregorius the Seventh to restore him to the throne of his country, which he offered to submit to the papal domination, spiritual as well as temporal. Gregorius wrote a letter, dated 15th May 1075, to Sviatoslaf, brother of the expelled Iziaslaf, admonishing him to relinquish the usurped sovereignty; but the papal admonitions produced no better effect than the remonstrances of the emperor, and Iziaslaf having recovered his throne after the death of his brother,

thought no more about the Pope, whose protection had proved unable to restore him to his throne. The chronicles mention different attempts of the Roman see to establish its domination in Russia; but we are left in the dark whether those negotiations were attended with some temporal success or not. One circumstance seems to imply that the popes had enjoyed some influence at Kiof in the end of the eleventh century, as Ephraim, a learned Greek, who occupied the metropolitan see of Kiof, 1090-96, introduced into the Russian calendar, under the date of the 9th May, the commemoration of the translation of the reliques of St. Nicolaus from Lycia to Bari in Italy; a feast which is unknown to the old Greek church, but observed by the Roman. It is very possible that, during the final separation of the eastern from the western church, completed by the patriarch Michel Cerularius, the metropolitan of Russia was wavering in his allegiance between Constantinople and Rome. Be it as it may, the papal domination could never gain a permanent ground in the Russian principalities, although that of Halich, situated between the Roman Catholic countries of Poland and Hungary, and being in a continual intercourse with them, was the object of its unceasing efforts. The Hungarians having occupied Halich under Coloman, tried to subject the church of that country to Rome; but their expulsion from the country destroyed the in-

tended connection with Rome. Daniel, sovereign of Halich, a prince distinguished as a warrior and a politician, thought that he might derive an effective assistance from the Pope against the terrible Mongols, to whom he was obliged to pay tribute, and do personally homage in the camp of Genghischan's grandson, Batoo. He, therefore, opened a negociation, 1247, with pope Innocentius the Fourth, who sent a legate to receive Daniel into the communion of the Roman church, and promised to allow the church of Halich to retain all such customs and observances which would not be in direct contradiction to the Roman doctrines. Daniel wavered a long time in declaring openly his spiritual allegiance to Rome. At last, in 1254, he accepted from the Pope a crown, and the other insignia of royalty; he was crowned by the legate as king of Halich, and formally acknowledged the supremacy of the Roman pontiff; but as the promised assistance did not arrive, he broke off, in 1257, the connexion with Rome, and despised all the menacing letters of Alexander the Fourth. The Greek clergy of Poland and Lithuania sent a delegation to the council of Basil; but they did not come to an understanding about a union with the western church. At the council of Florence, when the emperor John Paleologos submitted the oriental church to the supremacy of Rome, the metropolitan of Moscow, Isidor, a learned Greek, followed the example of

the emperor, and returned, in 1439, decorated with the dignity of a cardinal, and invested with the authority of a legate. He solemnly proclaimed the union with Rome, on his return through Poland and Lithuania; but on his arrival to Moscow he was deposed and imprisoned in a convent, whence he was fortunate enough at escape. The union with Rome produced no immediate effect on the Greek church of Poland and Lithuania; it was established there much later, and only then when the Jesuits having gained a paramount influence in that country, oppressed all religious persuasions opposed to the papal domination; but at the epoch when the reformation of Luther took place, the oriental church in Poland was in a most flourishing condition, and its tenets were professed by nearly half of the inhabitants of the country, amongst whom were many of the noblest families of the land.*

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* Besides the Polish chronicles, we have consulted on that subject the following works: Karamsin's History of Russia; Strahl's Kirchengeschichte von Russland, Beyträge zur Kirchengeschichte in Russland by the same author; Ecclesiastical History of Russia, by Platon, metropolitan of Moscow, in Russian; St. Petersburg, 1811.

PART II.

COMPREHENDING EVENTS FROM 1508 TO THE FINAL ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PROTESTANT DOCTRINES IN THAT COUNTRY IN 1572.

CHAPTER I.

Reign of Sigismund the First—1508-1548.

State of the R. C. church in Poland at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

We have endeavoured to trace, in the first part of our sketch, the religious state of Poland previously to the reformation of Luther and Zuinglius, who simultaneously attacked the errors and abuses of the Roman Catholic church; and we have shown that the domination of that church in Poland was strongly undermined by the influence of Bohemian doctrines, as well as by the liberal institutions of the country. It seems, however, that the Polish church was unaware of the dangers of its position, and that it supposed that the storm which had threatened its existence had passed away. Content with having preserved the outward forms of an undisturbed dominion, the Roman Catholic clergy of Poland did not perceive that their moral power was much

weakened, and that the hold which they had over the minds of the people was considerably loosened. The synod of Piotrkow, 1510, adopted some salutary regulations in order to check the avarice of the clergy; it ordered, at the same time, that the prebendary stalls should be given to people well versed in the law, and that the parish priests shoud be chosen from amongst pious and learned clergymen. It prohibited also to the priests to have in their houses persons infected with heresy, which is a proof of the existence of heretics at that time in Poland. A most preposterous law, enacted by the edict of 1505, excluding the non-nobles from the higher dignities of the church, was confirmed by the synod of Lenczyca, in 1523.*

This unjust and impolitic measure adopted by the Polish church naturally alienated from it the affections of the excluded class. There were also some projects respecting a reformation of the university of Cracow, which was acknowledged to have many defects, and which probably was the cause that many youths belonging to the first

* Vide *Volumina Legum*, par. i. By this law a non-noble could not become a bishop, and he who possesed already that dignity could not advance higher. There were four canonries, however, left in every diocese, which were to be given only to men of learning; and the exclusion from episcopacy was not strictly adhered to, as we see many bishops who attained that eminent station, in spite of their low origin.

Polish families resorted for education to foreign universities, and particularly to that of Strasburg, notwithstanding they had in their own country an university decorated with the pompous name of "*the daughter of the Sorbonne.*" Many Polish students constantly frequented the high school of Goldberg, in Silesia, which belonging to the Bohemian brethren, openly taught doctrines condemned by Rome. A strong feeling against the ecclesiastical body was manifested at the diets of 1501 and 1505, by attempting to curtail the competence of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, although no legal enactment was made for that purpose. The public opinion was so strong against the influence of the clergy, that the decrees of ecclesiastical courts fell into general contempt. The secular magistrates assumed a superiority over the spiritual tribunals, and investigated the competency of their jurisdiction, as well as the justice of their decrees, which were generally left unexecuted. The priestly excommunications, as they did not imply the loss of political rights, produced no effect whatever.* The influence of the clergy exacted from Sigismund the First an ordinance,

* By the statute of Vislitza, 1346, it was enacted, that in a case when the evidence of an excommunicated person was requisite on a judicial trial, and the authority which had excommunicated the witness refused to absolve him, his evidence was received by the court, and considered as valid as that of any other person.

in 1516, which enjoined to the Starosts* to compel the excommunicated persons to ask for absolution. The starost who would not execute that order, or permit himself to examine the decree of the spiritual court, was to be excommunicated himself. This royal mandate could not, however, be effectual, as, according to our ancient constitution, an ordinance issued by the king became law only when it was confirmed by a diet, but which has never been the case with the above-mentioned regulation concerning the excommunicated individuals.†

Anti-Romanist works published in Poland a few years before the beginning of Luther's reformation.

Even before Luther had publicly proclaimed his animadversions against the abuses of Rome, they were openly censured in Poland. The works *de Vero cultu Dei* and *de Matrimonio Sacerdotum*, which were published at Cracow, in 1504, contained doctrines which Rome regarded as heresy. The epistle of Bernard of Lublin to Symon of Cracow, 1515, positively expresses that "the

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* The starosts (*capitanei* or *præfecti*) were of two kinds: *viz.* the starosts with a jurisdiction (*capitanei castrenses*), and those without jurisdiction. The former were put in command of castles and towns, and had very extensive authority in those places; the latter were only holders of royal estates, for which they paid to the sovereign a small rent.

† This regulation, published in 1511 at Brest, in Lithuania, is not inserted amongst the *Constitutiones* of the Diet, or parliamentary bills of the kingdom of Poland, and, consequently, it is evident that it has never received force of law.

Gospels only must be believed, and that human ordinances may be dispensed with." This was the effect of the general intellectual movement which at that time pervaded all Europe, and in which Poland, impregnated with Hussite opinions, was certainly not behind the other countries.

The Lutheran doctrines circulate in Polish-Prussia very soon after they had been proclaimed at Wittenberg.

The reformation of Luther was rapidly communicated to Poland, which had a frequent and constant intercourse with Germany in general, and Wittenberg in particular, as many young Poles resorted to the university of that city. The effects of the Saxon reformation began, however, to be manifested at first in Polish-Prussia. This flourishing province submitted voluntarily to king Casimir the Third, in order to escape the oppression of its rulers, the Teutonic knights. After a long war with the order, Prussia became finally incorporated with Poland in 1466; it preserved, however, all its rights and privileges, and being peopled chiefly in towns by German settlers' it was German in its language, habits, and relations, although it politically constituted a part of Poland. Dantzic was the chief town of that province, and, by its favourable situation, the principal emporium of Poland with the west of Europe. Its constant intercourse with Germany rendered it particularly accessible to the doctrines of Luther, which found there an echo, soon after they had been proclaimed at Wittenberg. Already (1518) a monk, called James Knade, a native of Dantzic,

threw off his habit, took a wife, and began publicly to preach in that city against Rome. Knade was accused by the bishop of Cujavia, tried, and imprisoned. After some time, however, he was released from prison, but obliged to leave Dantzic. He retired to a nobleman named Krokow, living in the vicinity of Thorn, and quietly preached his doctrines under the patronage of Krokow, who was sheltered, by his privileges as a nobleman, from the persecution of the clergy. The seeds sown by Knade were not lost at Dantzic; and John Benchenstein began, in 1520, to attack the abuses of Romanism; and his example was followed, in 1522, by John Bonhald, and by the preacher of St. Barbara's church, Mathis Benewald in 1523. John Hegge, surnamed Winkelblack, publicly preached before the inhabitants of Dantzic the first anti-romanist sermon. Several other clergymen commenced proclaiming similar opinions. These innovations produced a considerable sensation in Poland, and king Sigismund the First issued, on the 23d November 1523, an order to the town-council of Dantzic, enjoining them to maintain the existing religion and prohibiting to make any changes. The council did not entirely fulfil the royal mandate, and was very probably unable to do so. It recommended (1524) that the abuses of the church should be examined with great moderation; and it allowed the monks to preach and to receive auricular confession. They were only

Affairs of Dantzic.

to be tolerated, however, but neither persecuted nor insulted. The council evidently sought to alleviate the growing irritation of minds against the inveterate abuses of the church, by adopting some reforms urgently demanded by public opinion. But the dispositions of the inhabitants of Danzic were not so moderate as those of their council, and they unanimously required more decisive reforms. Alexander, a Franciscan monk, and the above-mentioned John Hegge, two bold reformers, took possession of the churches of St. Mary and of St. Catherine, at the request of the parishioners. The town council neither confirmed nor suppressed these proceedings, but the Polish clergy resolved to put down with a strong hand the incipient heresy. The archbishop of Gniezno, John Laski, repaired himself to Danzic, where he commenced proceedings against the innovating clergy, of whom one called Paul was cast into prison by his orders. But the fermentation of minds was so strong at Danzic, that the archbishop suspended his proceedings, ordered the imprisoned Paul to be set at liberty, and left the town. This failure of the archbishop emboldened the reforming party, and they invited Luther to give an organization to the evangelical congregation of their town. Five churches were taken from Romanist clergymen, and entrusted to such as favoured reformation. This reform was, however, very indefinite, and it only sought to remove some

crying abuses, instead of effecting a thorough reformation of the church, and promoting the establishment of a new order based on scriptural grounds and the practice of the primitive church; because the ceremonies of the Roman church, as well as its fundamental dogmas, were preserved by the Danzic reformers.

The town council of Danzic was thrown into a very difficult position, being placed between their duty to the king, who had formally prohibited any innovations, and the inhabitants of the city, whose antiromanist bias grew every day more decided. They never originated any change, but acknowledged those that were made without requiring their advice. It seems, however, that they were afraid that these religious innovations might lead to political changes, and that their oligarchical power might be destroyed by the infusion of democratic elements. The dangers which they apprehended were accelerated by an untimely display of authority. Having imprisoned some of the most daring reformers, they excited an insurrection. The armed inhabitants took possession of the town, and twelve principal citizens required the council, on the 22d of January 1525, to call a general meeting, in order to proclaim a reformation of the church. This meeting adopted some exceedingly moderate regulations. The monastic orders were still to be tolerated, but their members were at liberty to leave them.

The monks were prohibited to preach even in private, to collect alms, and to say nightly masses. New novices were not allowed to be received; mass was preserved, and nothing was to be touched in the churches until the pleasure of the king of Poland should be known. The council approved all those regulations in order to calm the insurgents; but their ready compliance, where in fact they could not oppose, was unable to avert political innovations. Four thousand armed inhabitants surrounded the Town-hall with pointed cannons, and compelled the council to dissolve themselves, and to sign a declaration that it was by their own actions that they had provoked the insurrection. A new council was elected; but the former burgomaster, Bishoff, was re-elected, having succeeded by his adroit conduct in becoming popular with the movement party, and to preserve at the same time his favour with the aristocracy of the city and the Roman Catholics. The new council, urged by the inhabitants, extended further the hitherto insignificant measures of church reformation. The monastic establishments were closed; the Roman Catholic mode of worship was entirely abolished; the treasures of the church declared public property, but left untouched. The convents and other edifices devoted to the use of the clergy were converted into schools and hospitals. The council, as well as the inhabitants, anxious to prove that the reforms

Revolutionary movement effected by the reformers of Danzic.

introduced by them related only to religious matters, and had no political character, sent a message to the king of Poland, declaring their unshaken allegiance to his crown, and expecting that he would confirm the new order of things, which did not impair the rights of his sovereignty.

Sigismund seems to have been at first undecided as to the line of policy which he was to follow on that occasion. A war in which he was involved at that time with Albert duke of Prussia* forbad him to resort to any strong measures,

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* Since 1466, the possessions of the Teutonic order in Prussia were divided into two parts : one of them became a Polish province, and continued under the same dominion till the partition of 1772, when a part of it was seized by Prussia, which completed her spoliations by appropriating to itself the rest of that province, with the town of Danzic, at the second partition of Poland in 1792. This province, although forming an integral part of the Polish dominions, preserved, till its final dismemberment, a separate legislation and administration, and was considered a dependency of the crown, and not of the kingdom of Poland. It stood in the same relation to Poland as that in which the Channel Islands stand to England. The other part of Prussia remained under the dominion of the Teutonic order after the peace of Thorn in 1466, till 1525, when the last grand master of the order, Albert of Brandeburg, having embraced Lutheranism, it was constituted into a sovereign hereditary dukedom, but vassal to the crown of Poland. The supremacy of Poland was resigned by the treaty of Wehlau, in 1666, and in 1701, Prussia was erected into a kingdom by the emperor Leopold the First.

which, by irritating the minds of the people, might easily induce them to raise the banner of revolt, and join the enemy. The example of Danzic might be imitated by Thorn, Elbing, and other cities of Polish Prussia, and even alienate all the inhabitants of that important province from the Polish domination. These considerations were probably the motives which induced the king to temporise till he had concluded peace with the duke Albert. The general conduct of Sigismund the First towards the adherents of reformed doctrines, which under his reign spread rapidly over all the Polish dominions, induces us to think that he would have abstained from every violent proceeding, had he not been prompted by political considerations to repress by force a revolutionary movement which, having effected the separation from the church of one of the principal cities of the land, might easily have led to its alienation from the empire. A deputation of the ancient town council of Danzic, dressed in mourning, appeared before the monarch, supplicating him to save the city, which was going to be utterly ruined by the introduction of heresy, and to restore by his own authority the ancient order of things; they assured him at the same time that the ancient senate or council, the principal citizens, and a great part of the inhabitants, were favourable to such a restoration. The king issued a mandate, enjoining the inhabitants of Danzic to restore the ancient religious

and political order, and to abolish all the innovations. The council, in its own name and in that of the inhabitants, presented a justification of their proceedings. The members of the council were summoned to appear before the tribunal of the king; but as they did not obey the summons, the Diet assembled at Piotrkow, in February 1526, pronounced a decree of outlawry against Danzic, and abolished its privileges and franchises, unless the ancient order of things should be restored. The same Diet authorised the king's journey to Danzic, in order to pacify that city; but it ordered no levy of troops, and it was understood that this affair should be arranged by conciliatory means.

Division and uncertainty prevailed amongst the inhabitants of Danzic when the king arrived, at the beginning of April, at Marienburg. The staunch adherents of reformation foresaw the danger that threatened the newly-established order, and advised the gates of the city to be shut, the inhabitants to be armed, and every means prepared for a desperate resistance; but the burgomaster Bishoff, who secretly favoured the ancient order of things, dissuaded them from adopting such a bold line of conduct, which would have ensured favourable terms for the reforming party; the inhabitants of Danzic therefore decided on a middle course, and resolved to give admission to the monarch, but at the same time to take some measures of defence. Salicetus, one of the prin-

cipal leaders of the reforming party, was delegated to compliment the monarch on his arrival. He was received with courtesy, and even admitted to the royal council during a deliberation on the best means to arrange the misunderstandings; he returned therefore with the conviction that the king would agree to maintain, although with some modifications, the newly-established religious and political order. Several dignitaries of the state preceded the arrival of the monarch, who made his entrance on the 17th April, and was received in a respectful and solemn manner by the armed citizens, who presented an aspect resembling rather the hostile array of an army than a commercial community. When the king ordered the people to be disarmed, the cannons to be withdrawn, and the keys of the city gates to be delivered to him, he met with a respectful but decided denial. The council refused to make any concessions whatever; but took no necessary measures to prevent the king from overturning the existing order, which Sigismund formed the project of doing in a bold and decisive manner. The armed retainers of his lords continually, but quietly, entered the city; the Catholic nobles of Polish Prussia arrived in great force, and the vassal dukes, Albert of Prussia and Barnim of Pomerania, brought their troops.

Sigismund the First, king of Poland, sup-

Secured by a formidable array of forces, prompted by the members of the ancient council, as

presses by a display of authority the Reformation and the new political order in Danzic, and restores its ancient political state of things.

well as by many chief citizens, averse to the new form of government more than to the religious changes, and observing a great disunion amongst the reforming party, king Sigismund the First resolved to restore the ancient order in religion and politics, by a display of royal authority. The members of the ancient and new council, as well as the heads of the several companies of trades and artisans, were summoned before the king, and being demanded by the court marshal Kmita whether they had preserved their allegiance to the monarch, renewed their oath of fidelity. The reformers were terror-struck by the overwhelming forces of the king, and when a motion was made in the council to restore the Roman Catholic worship, it did not meet with any opposition. The king ordered Salicetus, as well as twenty of the principal leaders of the movement, to be imprisoned, and thirty others, who fled, were summoned to appear before the royal tribunal. They were tried, fifteen of them beheaded, and the rest exiled. The fate of Salicetus, the chief promoter of the revolution, is particularly interesting. He demanded to plead his cause himself before the king, and was permitted to do so. In the presence of the principal citizens of the town, he defended his case with great eloquence, asserting that in all his actions he did nothing but execute the will of the majority of the inhabitants. But the burgomaster Bishoff, who had feigned to be a friend

to the Reformation, stood up as his accuser, and charged him with having, by his own authority, taken the gold and silver vessels of the churches, preached Lutheranism to the people, and erected a gallows and scaffold before his tribunal. Salicetus appealed to the evidence of the citizens there present, that he had acted by their consent and authorization: but those wretches, acting under the influence of terror, denied his statement, upon which Salicetus discontinued his defence, and calmly resigned himself to his fate.*

A new council was elected, and it confirmed without opposition the re-establishment of the ancient religious and political order. Severe regulations were enacted by the triumphant Romanists, in order to prevent a new revolution. Whoever refused to return into the pale of the church during the space of a fortnight, was to leave the town under the penalty of death. The monks and nuns who had broken their vows were condemned to banishment. The propagation of doctrines opposed to the Roman Catholic church, either public or private, was prohibited under pain of death and confiscation of property;

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* Vide Raynaldus, Bzovius, Koyalowicz, Bielski, ad ann. 1526. Friese Beyträge zur Reformations Geschichte, vol. i. Hartknoch Preussische kirchen geschichte. Chytreus Rerum Prussicarum. Schiksale der Dissidenten in Poland, &c. &c. The Roman Catholic writers are unanimous with the Protestant authors in relating this transaction.

even every publication, image, or print against the Roman Catholic church was to be punished by exile and confiscation of property; whoever dared to have any communication with the exiles was to forfeit his property. The captains of vessels were obliged to answer for the orthodoxy of their crews. The rights of citizenship were to be given only to Catholics of unsuspected faith. A meeting of three or four men or women, with a view of changing the established order, was punishable with death, and every stranger who endeavoured to spread false doctrines could be arbitrarily punished by the authorities of the town.*

Reasons for believing that his reaction was brought about by political, and not religious motives.

King Sigismund left Danzic in the month of July 1526, after having effected a sanguinary counter-revolution, which, as we have already expressed, was caused rather by political than religious grounds. Indeed, we can scarcely have any doubt that the fear of a dangerous example, which Dantzic would have given to the other parts of the Polish dominions, by the subversion of the existing form of government, and the introduction of a new one, acted more powerfully on the king's mind than the anxiety to preserve

* Vide Volumina Legum, ordinatio civitatis Gedanensis, anno 1526. This iniquitous ordinance, which by the rapid progress of Protestant doctrines became soon a dead letter, was abrogated by an ordinance of king Sigismund Augustus, formally granting the free exercise of religion to Danzic and other towns of Polish Prussia.

unimpaired the domination of the Roman Catholic church, which began at that time to be assailed in all parts of Poland. We are confirmed in our opinion that the above-mentioned reaction was produced by political and not religious motives, by the important circumstance, that Albert duke of Prussia, who had himself recently embraced Lutheranism, and established it as a dominant religion in his states, lent a ready assistance to king Sigismund the First against the reformers of Danzic. The same ordinance, the severe regulations of which against the opponents of Romanism we have quoted, concentrated the government of the city in the hands of a few, carefully excluding the multitude from any share in public affairs. The subsequent conduct of Sigismund manifested throughout his reign a great toleration of religious opinions, whenever they did not interfere with the public order and the authority of the monarch. We have even a public avowal of Sigismund's apprehensions lest the religious changes might be conducive to the subversion of political order.*

* The territorial councils of Polish Prussia having refused to pay the tithes to the bishop of Vladislav, king Sigismund expressed, in his ordinance of January 1528, at Piotrkow, the following opinion : "*Docentes nos quasi novum aut desultorium Christianum de lege gratiæ, de sublato sacerdotio levitico, de non contribuendo Pastoribus nisi pascant, et aliis tritis aposolarum cantilenis non temperantes interim ab aculeis in suum Episcopum. Quæ est ista nova Christiana ratio si per legem gratiæ liber est populus, a solvendis decimis, eadem lege liber est erit a solvendis tributis*

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ish Prussia.

The effects of Luther's reformation on Polish Prussia were not confined to Dantzic, but simultaneously spread over many parts of that province. The reformed doctrines began to be propagated at Thorn in 1520 and in 1521. Although there was not yet any congregation publicly professing those doctrines, they were so popular with the inhabitants of the town, that when Zacharias Fereira, legate of the Pope, arrived in the abovementioned year at Thorn, and proceeded to burn with great solemnity before the church of St. John the portrait and the writings of Luther, they pelted him and his assistants with stones, and having compelled them to flee, saved Luther's portrait from the flames. A riot which was occasioned in that city in 1525, by the inhabitants, who loudly demanded the introduction of the reformation, was appeased by the authorities with conciliatory

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tributis, quæ aliis ordinibus aut potestatibus debentur. Si non pendendum est pastori nisi pascat et doceat, non pendendum sit etiam a plebe suus census ordini aut statui militari nisi militet, et populum dei tuetur. At que hæ sunt illæ evangelicæ rationes, quæ nunc orbem terrarum tumultibus perjuriis ac sacrilegiis implent tales litteras talibus impiis dogmatibus consutos miserctis."—vol. leg. 1. Raynaldus ad ann. 1528. The territorial councils of Prussia, which demanded the abolition of tithes, maintained at that time the customary forms of Roman Catholic worship. It is remarkable that Sigismund, who had violently suppressed the reformation at Danzic in 1526, combated only by reasonings, in 1528, the attacks of the Prussians on a very essential part of the Roman Catholic church establishment.

means. At Elbing, a strong inclination towards the reformed doctrines was publicly manifested in 1523. At Braunsberg, the seat of the bishop of Warmia, or Ermeland, Lutheran worship was publicly introduced as early as 1520, and the bishop, Lusignan, made no attempt at persecuting the reformers. He seems to have been favourably inclined to Luther; because when the canons of his chapter reproached his toleration, he answered them, that Luther founded all that he advanced on the scriptures, and that whoever felt himself competent to the task, should refute his assertions. Many other towns of Prussia were introducing reformation, but since its violent suppression at Danzic in 1526, a Roman Catholic reaction took place over all that province, and the ancient mode of worship was almost every where re-established.

This reaction, however, did not produce any lasting effect in Polish Prussia, and the seeds of reformation had already struck root in that province too deeply to be eradicated by any legal enactments.

Their revival at Danzic.

Notwithstanding the severe regulations of 1526, a Dominican monk called Klein began to preach at Danzic, in 1534, scriptural doctrines, but without openly separating himself from the Roman church. In 1537 he abandoned the monastic habit, and being nominated by the authorities of the city preacher of the church of St. Mary, he ejected the images from that temple, and introduced the Lutheran

mode of worship. This decided innovation was neither approved nor condemned by the town council, and the king paid no more attention to it, but contented himself by issuing an order prohibiting violent publications against the church of Rome. The daily progress of reformation in Danzic induced Sigismund to nominate a commission of bishops, who arrived at Danzic, and began their proceedings by imprisoning Klein; but public opinion at that place was already so strong in favour of the Reformation, that the bishops were obliged to release Klein, who remained unmolested till his death, in 1546, and to retire without producing any effect whatever. The reformed doctrines also gained ground in many other towns of Prussia, and received a strong impulse by the arrival of the Bohemian brethren, in 1548; a circumstance of which we shall have an opportunity to speak hereafter, as well as of the final triumph of Lutheranism in Polish Prussia.

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The duchy of Mazovia, bordering on Prussia, and at that time not yet united with Poland,* adopted very severe measures against the introduction of the reformed doctrines. Duke Janusz proclaimed, at the diet of Warsaw, a regulation

* The duchy of Mazovia formed a separate state since the partition of Poland by Boleslav the Third, or Wrymouth, between his four sons, in 1139. It was united with Poland 1526, a few months after the restoration of Romanism at Danzic, when its last duke, Janusz, died without issue.

prohibiting the propagation of heresy, in whatever language, or by whatever means, under pain of death and confiscation of property; the prohibition extended to the reading and possession of suspicious works, and no condition or dignity, however high, could screen the offenders from punishment. Whether owing to the severity of the law, or to the comparatively lower degree of the general information of the inhabitants of that part of Poland, the reformed doctrines never gained ground in Mazovia, although there were many individual conversions to Protestantism. The Mazovian nuncios distinguished themselves by constantly advocating the cause of Rome at the Diets, and it is supposed that amongst the motives which prompted Sigismund the Third to transfer the royal residence from Cracow to Warsaw, the capital of Mazovia, the orthodoxy of thatprovince was a reason no less powerful in the eyes of that bigoted monarch, than the central position of the new metropolis.

Different resolutions adopted by the R. C. clergy of Poland, in order to arrest the progress of the Reformation.

The Roman Catholic clergy of Poland having obtained a signal, although momentary triumph over the reformed doctrines in Polish Prussia, sought by every possible means to prevent the spread of heresy, and to extirpate it altogether from all the Polish dominions. Many books were published in Poland against Luther and his doctrines. The synod of Lenczyca, in 1527, recommended the re-establishment of the tribunal of the

Holy Inquisition, subject to the authority of the bishops. It recommended also some measures more congenial with the nature of an ecclesiastical authority, as for instance, that the bishops should appoint learned preachers to guide the people with a sound doctrine, avoiding all kind of scholastics, more apt to destroy than to edify the faithful.*

The synod of Piotrkow, in 1530, particularly enjoined measures to prevent the introduction of heretical writings. The synod of Lenczyca, 1532, recommended the adoption of the most severe measures against the heretics.† The same synod and that of Piotrkow endeavoured to introduce some reforms amongst the clergy, but particularly to render effective the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. But the synod which made the most important enactments in order to suppress the rapidly growing heresy is that which was held at Piotrkow in 1542.

Prohibition to Polish students to frequent Protestant universities

The influence of the clergy obtained from King Sigismund the First, in 1534, an order prohibiting the Polish students from resorting to the foreign

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* *"Omittentes in concionibus questiones scholasticas et exempla somniata quæ cordes fidelium distrahere potius quam edificare videntur."*—Vide Janocki.

† *"Ut cunctis hereticis de finitiis Sarmatiæ expulsis, populus Christianus in sinceritate fidei persistat."*—Constitutiones Synodorum.

universities, conducted by heretical professors, and recalling all those who studied there. The youths who, disregarding the royal injunction, should continue their studies in the prohibited academies, were to be punished by the exclusion from all dignities and offices; and those who should repair thither in spite of the prohibition, were to be subjected to still heavier penalties. This ordinance could not, however, produce any effect, as it had no force of law, not having been confirmed by the Diet, and consequently was not obligatory, particularly on the nobles, who, sheltered by their constitutional privileges from every arbitrary restriction, continued to frequent the prohibited universities, and particularly that of Wittenberg, the cradle and the seat of Lutheranism. The ordinances against the Anabaptists, published at Cracow in 1535, and against the Lutherans, published at Vilna the same year, as well as that by which, in 1541, the king menaced to punish with loss of nobility all those who should have in their houses heretical priests, remained likewise a dead letter. This is sufficiently proved by the acts of the above-mentioned synod of Piotrkow, which passed a resolution that the king should be requested to carry into execution his own ordinances against heresy. The same synod enacted that parents should be prohibited from sending their children to the heretical schools; the reading of the works of Luther and

Melancthon, which had been done by many under the pretence of confuting them, was prohibited; and recommended to search the houses of the inhabitants in order to discover heretical writings. The local authorities were also ordered to keep a watchful eye over the booksellers and printers, to confiscate the suspicious works, and to punish summarily the offenders. This enactment was, however, insufficient to enslave the press, as it had been declared free by a royal decree of 1539. The Bohemians, who were frequently employed in Poland as tutors, became the objects of particular animadversion with the above-mentioned synod, which moreover enjoined that the existence of Hussites, their conventicles, and their writings, should be the subjects of investigation. The same synod recommended the regulations of the Holy Inquisition as an example to be followed, and a rule to be adopted, in all proceedings against heresy and heretics. The synod of Piotrkow, in 1544, confirmed the enactments of that of 1542, with some new injunctions against the studying at the Lutheran universities in Germany. All those enactments which the above-mentioned synods had proclaimed against the reformed doctrines, were entirely fruitless, as the constitutional liberties of the country, which carefully circumscribed the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, rendered it almost impossible for the clergy to persecute those whom they considered as heretics deserving of the most severe

A royal ordinance establishes the liberty of the press in Poland in 1539.

punishment.* And the synod of Piotrkow, 1547, was obliged to confess that the church was in great danger from heresy, which had spread over every diocese, and even infected the clergy itself. We must add, that at the Diet of Cracow, in 1543, the freedom of studying in the foreign universities was formally granted to all Polish subjects.†

The Diet of Cracow in 1543, grants to the inhabitants of Poland the liberty of studying at the foreign universities.

* The acts of many synods, held during that period, are full of complaints against the contempt with which the authority of he ecclesiastical courts was treated. Several enactments of the Polish legislation evince a strong jealousy and hostile feeling against the clergy. The Diet of 1538 prohibited, under severe penalties, to the Polish clergy to receive any dignities from the apostolical see, a prohibition which was repeated many times afterwards. The annates were abolished in 1543. The estates of the church were subjected to the general taxes in 1544; and in 1565 it was enacted that a clergyman guilty of any crime or offence, should be tried by the ordinary tribunal, and not by the ecclesiastical courts.

† We must not omit a remarkable event which happened at Cracow under the reign of Sigismund the First.—Catherine Weygel, wife of Melchior Weygel, a goldsmith and alderman of Cracow, a woman eighty years of age, was tried before the ecclesiastical court on a charge of apostasy to the Jewish religion. When inquired of about her creed, she answered: "I believe the existence of one God, who has created all the visible and invisible world, who cannot be conceived by human intellect." But she is said to have denied the truths revealed by the Gospel. She persevered in her opinion, notwithstanding the admonitions of her judges, who represented to her the dangerous consequences of her conduct, and was burnt in the market-place of Cracow. Gornicki, a contemporary historian, who relates that event, says that she suffered death with the most heroic cou-

Personal character of Sigismund the 1st.

After having enumerated the principal measures relating to the religious matters which were adopted in Poland under the domination of Sigismund the First, we shall endeavour to give a sketch of the personal character and opinions of that monarch, as they necessarily exercised a marked influence over the fate of the reformed doctrines, which under his reign gained ground in Poland.

Sigismund the First ascended the throne of Poland after the demise of his brother Alexander in 1506, when he was already forty years old. He had received an excellent literary education, under the tuition of the celebrated Italian scholar Philip Buonaccorsi, better known under the assumed name of *Callimachus Experiens*, who, obliged to flee from his own country, found an honourable reception at the court of Casimir the

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rage. The acts of the consistory of Cracow record the crime imputed to that unfortunate woman exactly as it is described by Gornicki. Vide Bandke's *History of Poland,* vol. ii. page 109, third edition in Polish. But Stanislav Budzinski, a Socinian writer, who calls her Zalaszowska, pretends that she was the first Socinian in Poland. Vide Supplement to Sandius' *Nucleus historiæ ecclesiasticæ exhibitus in historia Arianorum,* ann. 1676, page 86. Lubieniecki maintains that she denied only the dogma of transubstantiation. The execution of that deluded woman, so contrary to the national character, was chiefly caused by the influence of Gamrat, a favourite of queen Bona, whose influence raised him to the episcopal see of Cracow, and who was notorious for his profligate life.

Third, king of Poland, who intrusted him with the education of his sons. He was of a noble, upright character, gifted with great personal as well as moral courage, which he displayed on many a trying occasion; but the leading feature of his character was indolence, and a goodness of heart which often degenerated into weakness; two qualities characteristic of the Jaguellonian family. This circumstance accounts for the wavering line of conduct which that monarch constantly pursued in matters relating to the religious discussions which began to agitate the Polish dominions under his reign. He frequently proclaimed most severe ordinances against religious innovations, in order to satisfy the importunities of the clergy and some bigotted senators; but he never put them into execution, except in the case of Danzic, which, as we have already shown, was considered in a political, and not a religious point of view. When Nicolaus Bedlinski, inquisitor of Cracow, declared James of Ilza, preacher of St. John's church, in that city, an avowed heretic, the king interfered, and would not allow him to be punished. When the celebrated adversary of Martin Luther, John Eck, or Eckius, dedicated to Sigismund his work against Luther, engaging him to persecute the heretics, and recommending to him as an example deserving of imitation the conduct of Henry the Eighth, king of England,

who was at that time much opposed to Luther, and had himself just published a work against the German reformer, Sigismund answered, that he wished to be monarch equally of sheep and goats.* Some grandees, as Gorka, Ostrorog, &c.

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* *Ad invictissimum Poloniæ regem Sigismundum de Sacrificio missæ contra Lutheranos,* lib. ii. Johanne Eckio *authore* 1526. The dedication is dated 15th February, Ingolstadt. The passage of the king's answer to which we have alluded is as follows. "*Fluere sæcula et in illis mutantur regna, mentes legumlatorum. Obsoletæ erunt nuper scientiæ, nunc renascuntur. Scribat rex Henricus contra Martinum. Permittas mihi fieri ovium et hircorum regem. Obsecro superos ut velint jungere studium Leonis decimi pietatis. Leonis primi. Si verò corruptio pro moribus, scandalum pro ædificatione, inter Christianos habendæ sint, venient infausta tempora, ubi rex et pastor gregis Christi squallido erunt induti thorace.*" We must confess that the passage we have just now quoted bears the stamp, not so much of that toleration which is inspired by the true spirit of Christian charity, as of a philosophical indifference about religious matters, of which the learned Italians of that period were generally accused.—Vide Hallam's Introduction to the Literature of Europe of the Fifteenth Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. i. page 504. Whether that accusation was just or unjust, it would be foreign to our subject to investigate; we shall only add that Sigismund's tutor, Buonaccorsi, belonged to a society which particularly laboured under that charge; vide *Sismondi, Histoire de la Littérature du Midi,* vol. ii. page 184. We cannot omit relating an anecdote of the same monarch, which must have given great offence to the bigotted Romanists. When the archbishop Laski boasted before him of having covered the church-yard of his hereditary town, Lask, with earth brought from Jerusalem, the king said: "You would have done

having openly embraced the reformed doctrines, were anathematized by the clergy, but continued to enjoy the favour of the sovereign, and were employed in places of trust and confidence. Albert of Brandeburg, nephew to king Sigismund, and grand master of the Teutonic Knights of Prussia, put an end to the existence of that order in 1524, by marrying a wife, and embracing Lutheranism. Albert's change of religion was followed by all the possessions of the order, and Sigismund sanctioned that revolution by a treaty, in 1525, which is the first instance of secularization in history, and by which Lutheranism was for the first time diplomatically acknowledged as an established religion.* A proof that he was not considered by his contemporaries as very bigotted is, that the Protestant princes of Germany sought to prevail upon him, by the offer of great advantages, to enter the *ligue*, of Smalcalden, formed for the defence of Protestantism.† Sigismund married, after the demise of his first queen Barbara,

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done much better by manuring your sandy grounds with the rich soil of Proszowice," a district celebrated for its fertility.

* Vide note, page 116.

† This fact is related by the biographer of Commendoni, vide *Vie de Commendoni par Gratiani,* French translation, page 177. Gratiani, who visited Poland some time after the death of Sigismund the First, gives a very incorrect description of the character of that monarch, as well as of the religious

daughter to Stephen Zapolia, Waywode of Transylvania, Bona Sforza, princess of Milan.* He was at that time (1519) fifty-three years old, and he soon fell under the entire domination of his young queen, who was remarkable for her beauty and accomplishments. These advantages which Bona possessed were, however, more than counterbalanced by her bad qualities, for she was a princess of a most perverse character; dissolute in her manners, ambitious of power, and greedy of money. The many abuses caused by the influence of that unprincipled queen, who entirely ruled the country during the latter part of her uxorious husband's reign, rendered Sigismund odious to the nation, although, previously to his second marriage, he had been universally beloved; and it was only after his death that his subjects, forgetting the frailties of their monarch, and remembering only his virtues, sincerely lamented the loss of the once popular sovereign. The conduct of Bona towards the Protestants was very unequal, being regulated by motives of expediency, as well as by the freaks of a corrupted woman's passion; for

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religious affairs during his reign. It is evident that Gratiani derived all his information from some bigotted Catholics.

* Bona was the daughter of John Galeazzo Sforza, duke of Milan, and of Isabella of Arragon, daughter of Alphonse the Second, king of Naples.

it is almost impossible to admit that religious feeling could have any hold whatever on the mind of one who manifested such an utter disregard of every principle, as queen Bona did during all her life-time. Being under the constant influence of the Spanish court, with which she was nearly related, Bona's inclinations were naturally against every innovation in religious matters; but it frequently happened that those who favoured the new doctrines were necessary to the attainment of her ends, and she did not scruple to abet *heresy*, in order to convert *heretics* into useful tools for the promotion of her own designs. Her own confessor, Lismanini, was one of the chief promoters of the reformed doctrines at Cracow, and it was the queen herself who afforded him facilities of getting from abroad books containing the above-mentioned doctrines. Besides those reasons which guided the conduct of the queen, there were motives no less powerful which acted on the heart of the woman: a guilty passion attached Bona to John Firley, one of the most conspicuous amongst the Polish grandees, for his accomplishments and personal appearance. Firley, who was invested with the important dignities of the palatine of Lublin and marshal of the court, openly professed the reformed doctrines, and became under the ensuing reign the leader of the Protestant nobility.

Influence of queen Bona on the affairs of Protestantism.

All those circumstances concurred in rendering the influence of Bona harmless to the progress of the reformation in Poland; an influence which would have not failed to do them the greatest injury, if that wily queen had made them an object of her hostility.

Such was the state of Poland when the doctrines of the Reformation began to penetrate into that country. It was in the province of great Poland, bordering on Germany, and where the doctrines of Huss had made a strong impression, that Protestantism was publicly manifested for the first time by the opening of a Lutheran church, (1530-40,) under the patronage of the influential family of Gorka, who had embraced the doctrines of the Saxon reformer. But the most important circumstance which gave a strong impulse to the development of religious opinions in Poland, took place at Cracow, where a society formed itself in order to propagate the doctrines of the Gospel. This society was composed of the most eminent scholars of that time, united amongst themselves by the ties of personal friendship. It was in appearance strictly Roman Catholic, and sought only to effect such reforms as would not in the least affect its orthodoxy. The Italian, Francis Lismanini, provincial of the Franciscan order, chaplain and confessor to queen Bona, was the leader of that assembly, which numbered amongst its members

Secret society for discussing theological subjects established at Cracow.

John Trzecieski, or Tricesius, the first grammarian of his country; his son Andreas Trzecieski, also an eminent scholar and great linguist, and Bernard Wojewodka, a learned bookseller and alderman of Cracow, both pupils of Erasmus; Andreas Frycz Modrzewski, or Modrevius, pupil of Melancthon, of whom we shall have an ample opportunity to speak hereafter; James Przyluski, an eminent lawyer; Adam Drzewiecki, canon of the cathedral of Cracow; Andreas Zebrzydowski, afterwards bishop of Cracow, and favourite pupil of Erasmus; John Uchanski, referendary of the crown, and afterwards archbishop of Gnezno; and many other persons distinguished by their talents, learning, and rank in society.

Lismanini possessed a large library of anti-romanist books, and he constantly received every new publication of that kind. At the meetings of the society, he expounded to its members different points of divinity. The Roman Catholic tenets which have no scriptural foundation were boldly attacked in the learned discussions of that society; but, unfortunately, some of its members carried much too far their theological speculations, and began openly to broach anti-trinitarian doctrines. It was at a meeting held in the library of John Trzecieski that a certain priest, called Pastoris, a native of Belgium, attacked the mystery of the trinity, as being incon-

sistent with the unity of the Supreme Being. This doctrine, new at that time in Poland, although broached already in the works of Servetus, startled in such a manner the members present, that they became mute with astonishment, perceiving with terror that such a proposition would lead to the subversion of revealed religion. This doctrine, adopted by several members of the above-mentioned society, laid in Poland the foundation of that sect whose opinions became afterwards known under the name of Socinianism, although neither Lelio nor Faustus Socinus may be considered as its true founders. The same daring propositions had undoubtedly the effect of frightening many timorous minds, and of deterring them from any further attempt against the abuses and errors of Romanism, so that they preferred to remain in the pale of the established church, in spite of its acknowledged aberrations, rather than to venture on a dangerous course which might lead them to a pure deism, and reduce the gospel to a simple code of morality. There were many however who, firm of mind and inspired with true piety, resolved to search the truth, not by the sole guidance of human reason, but by the test of the Holy Scriptures.*

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* It has been described by several authors; but the best account of it is given by Wengierski, in his History of the Reformed Church of Cracow.

The real tendency of the society which we have described was, notwithstanding its apparent compliance with the established church, soon discovered by the bishop of Cracow, Samuel Maciejowski. Having received positive information about the heretical opinions of Lismanini, he ordered his library to be searched; but Lismanini, being informed of the impending danger, removed in time all the suspicious works, so that when the investigation of his library took place, nothing was found that might cast a suspicion on the orthodoxy of its owner. The bishop remained, however, persuaded of Lismanini's heresy; and when he was commissioned to go to Rome in order to congratulate Julius the Third on his accession to the pontifical throne, Maciejowski represented him as a dangerous heretic, capable of overthrowing the Roman Catholic church in Poland. Lismanini, however, being apprized by his friends of the danger which threatened him from that quarter, succeeded by his adroitness in neutralizing the effects of the bishop's accusations, and returned safely to Poland from his mission to Rome. The spirit of religious investigation which animated the members of the society we have described, began to manifest itself by overt attacks on the Roman Catholic church. John Karminski, a rich landowner andparticular friend of Lismanini, received in his estate called Alex-

androvitze, not far from Cracow, several persons who openly abandoned the communion of Rome. A clergyman who had been a preacher of the cathedral church at Cracow, publicly inveighed at Alexandrovitze against Romish idolatry, and recommended the reading of the gospels. This clergyman, however, being imprisoned by the ecclesiastical authorities, recanted his doctrines; but having recovered his liberty and gained the protection of some powerful lord, he resumed his opinions.* Franciscus Stancari, an Italian, who was the first professor of Hebrew at Cracow, began about that time to attack the worship of the saints in expounding the psalms to the pupils of the university; he was imprisoned in the castle of Lipovietz; but some nobles favourable to his opinions carried him away from the fortress, and he found a safe refuge in the estates of Stadnicki, a powerful grandee converted to the Protestant doctrines, who founded a school in his town of Dubiecko, and gave the superintendence of it to Stankari.† Martinus Krowicki, a clergyman, preached against the worship of saints and images,

* Lubieniecki and Wengierski, who describe that transaction, give neither the name of the clergyman, nor that of the bishop by whom he had been imprisoned. The date of the event is not clearly defined, but it happened about 1548.

† Dubiecko is situated in the present Galicia, or Austrian Poland.

as being abuses unknown to the primitive church, and began to say mass in the vernacular tongue. Another clergyman called Jacobus Sylvius, rector of Krzemien, was the first who entirely left out the mass, in 1547. Felix Cruciger of Szczebrzeszyn, rector of Niedzwiedz, in the vicinity of Cracow, began in 1546 to expound from the pulpit the pure words of the gospel. Many influential persons occupying important offices of the state openly embraced the doctrines of the reformers. The most prominent of them were, Bonar, castellan of Biecz; Justus Decius, private secretary to the king; Nicolas Olesnicki, lord of Pinczow, a place which became afterwards celebrated in the annals of the Polish reformation; Martinus Zborowski, castellan of Kalish; Stanislaw Cikowski, a military officer, who distinguished himself afterwards in many wars; Nicolaus Rey, the first Polish poet; the powerful families of Szafraniec, Stadnicki, &c. &c.

The conversion to the Protestant doctrines of several individuals and families occupying high stations in life, secured the reformers from the persecution of the Roman Catholic clergy, and afforded them great facilities for propagating their doctrines. It seems however that, previously to the year 1548, their opinions, excepting some few cases, had not assumed any definite form of creed. They only saw the abuses and errors

of Romanism without having arrived at a clear perception of evangelical truths, or to any definite conclusions deduced from scriptural grounds. They knew what was to be abolished, but not yet what was to be established. It was only in the ensuing reign of Sigismund Augustus that Protestantism assumed any definite form of creed. The doctrines of Zuinglius and Calvin gained ground amongst the nobles in preference to Lutheranism, which spread in towns principally inhabited by German settlers, who, through their constant intercourse with Germany, were much inclined towards the doctrines of the reformer of that country. The daring speculations of the anti-trinitarians, which we have already mentioned as broached by some members of the society of Cracow, and which afterwards gave rise to a numerous sect known under the name of Polish Brethren, or Socinians, spread chiefly amongst the nobles.

We have had ample opportunity of describing the influence which the reformation of Huss had exercised in Poland; and we must not omit an important circumstance which greatly contributed to the establishment of the doctrines professed by the Bohemian Brethren in our country. We mean the emigration of that community from Bohemia into Prussia and Poland at the end of the period which we have now described.

Account of the Bohemian Brethren.

The reformation of Huss had already manifested, at its very beginning, some strongly marked differences amongst its followers, which in the course of time divided them into two parties, distinguished under the names of *Callixtines* and *Taborites*. The first of these, who received their name from their insisting on the communion of two kinds, were much more moderate in their demands of church reformation than the Taborites, who gave a complete development to the doctrines of Wicliff, rejecting every thing which could not be supported by scriptural authority. After the death of Ziska, who was the chief of the Taborites, appeared a third party, called the *Orphans*, who kept the middle between the two other, being bolder than the Callixtines, and more moderate than the Taborites: but it seems afterwards to have merged into the two above-mentioned parties.

The separation was completed through the *Compactata* of 1433, by which the Council of Basil admitted the Bohemians into the pale of the church.*

The Callixtines were ready to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, provided he would confirm the above-mentioned concessions of the Council of Basil; but the Taborites rejected those conditions, considering them, with great reason, as

* Vide note, page 87.

fraught with danger to the reformed religion, and being fully aware that such an approximation to the Roman Catholic church would speedily lead to its complete restoration. The Callixtine party prevailed, and the Taborites dwindled into a minority, which, although it lost its political strength, firmly persevered in adhering to the pure evangelical doctrines. They changed their name into that of Bohemian Brethren, about 1440-1450, and in 1456 they began to form a religious community, separated by definite forms from the rest of the followers of Huss. In 1458 they experienced a severe persecution in Moravia, from the Roman Catholics, as well as from the Callixtines. The persecution was renewed with increased severity in 1466; but it did not subdue the religious zeal and courage of the brethren, whose devotion to their cause grew with the persecution they suffered for its sake. They assembled a synod at Lhota,* and established their church by electing the elders according to the custom of the primitive Christians.

Stephen, bishop of the Austrian Waldensians,† ordained the first priests of the new church,

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* Lhota is a village near the town of Richow.

† There were many Waldensians at that time in Austria. The Bohemian Brethren also frequently sent their priests to be ordained by the Waldensians of Italy.—Vide Friese's Beyträge zu der Reformations geschichte in Polen, vol. i. p. 186-7.

which continued to suffer the most unrelenting persecution, and was obliged to hold its synods and to perform divine worship in forests, caverns, and other hidden places, whilst its persecuted members were stigmatised with the names of Adamites, Picardians, brigands, robbers, and every kind of contumelious appellation.

Their sufferings were suspended in 1471, by the accession of the Polish prince Vladislav Jaguellon, to the throne of Bohemia, who immediately granted to the Bohemian Brethren a full enjoyment of religious liberty. Mathias Corvinus, king of Hungary, abolished also about that time the laws which were enacted against them in Moravia. The brethren began to resume hopes of a more prosperous time to their church, which in 1500 reckoned two hundred places of worship. In 1503, the brethren were excluded from public offices; but the apology of their creed which they presented to king Vladislav Jaguellon, persuaded the monarch of their innocence, and suspended a persecution which had already made some victims. The Roman Catholic clergy succeeded again in 1506 in exciting a severe persecution against the brethren, under the pretence that the queen, who was about to be confined, might obtain by that act of piety a happy deliverance.

The brethren neglected no means in order to justify themselves from the unmerited odium

which their detractors continually sought to throw on them. In 1511 they sent an exposition of their religion to Erasmus, who did not find therein any errors. "If your community," wrote that celebrated scholar, "elects its priests, it does not offend by it the customs of the primitive Christians; nor is it to be blamed for choosing persons without learning, because purity of life compensates the deficiency of learning."*

In 1522 Luther did not yet comprehend the tenets of the Bohemian Brethren; his mind seems to have not yet been at that time entirely emancipated from the influence of Romanism, and he violently abused, in his convivial conversations, the Bohemian Brethren, whose tenets and system of hierarchy he regarded with a kind of horror. But in 1533 Luther was entirely reconciled to the Bohemians, and wrote himself, in 1535, a preface to their confession. In 1542 a deputation of the brethren, amongst whom was the celebrated George Israel,† visited Luther, who received them with great distinction, established a spiritual

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* Vide Stranski, et Lasitius, edit. by Comenius.

† George Israel was born at Hunnobrod in Moravia in 1500, and became pastor of the Bohemian Brethren at Tarnow in Bohemia. He distinguished himself by his great learning and piety. Being expelled from Bohemia in 1548, he arrived in Poland, where in the space of a few years he established a great number of churches of the Bohemian Brethren, and became the first superintendent of their community. He took an active part

communion with them, and expressed a wish that they might become the means of converting the Slavonian nations.* At the accession of the house of Austria to the throne of Bohemia a severe persecution was raised against the brethren. The Diet of Prague enacted severe laws against them; and king Ferdinand resolved, in 1544, to extirpate them entirely. Their places of worship were shut up, and their ministers imprisoned. In 1547 the same king proclaimed an edict, enjoining the brethren under the most severe penalties to leave the country in the short space of forty-two days. It was published on the 4th May 1548, and immediately put into execution. The brethren resolved on removing to Prussia, whose so-

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part in all the principal Protestant synods of Poland, and greatly contributed to the *Consensus Sendomiriensis*, by which a union between the Bohemian Brethren, Reformed and Lutherans, of Poland was established in 1570. In 1580 he resigned his pastoral functions on account of his great age, and retired to Lipnica, in Moravia, where he died in 1588. He left a history of the establishment and progress of the Bohemian churches in Poland, written in Polish and Latin, as well as several other works connected with his contemporary ecclesiastic history, besides many speeches made in Polish at different synods. He entertained an extensive correspondence with many eminent reformers and scholars of Europe, and enjoyed, during his life-time, a great influence with the most eminent personages of Poland. Vide Lukaszewicz's Account of the Protestant Church in Posen.

* Vide. Clement, Bibliothèque Curieuse; Walch's, Bibliotheca Theologica; Michelet's Mémoires of Luther.

vereign the duke Albert, offered them an asylum in his states. On the 15th June 1548 the communities of Lutomysl, Turnow, Brandeis, Chlum, Bieczow, and some other places, comprehending a thousand souls, divided into three parties, proceeded on their way to Prussia through Silesia and Poland. The last of these parties, consisting of about four hundred individuals, entered Posnania on the 25th June, being conducted by their priests, Mathias Aquila, Urbanus Herman, and Mathias Faliczki. But all the pilgrims were under the guidance of Mathias Sionius, the elder or chief of their whole community; or, to use the words of a celebrated Polish Protestant writer (Wengierski), *the leader of the people of God.*

Their arrival in Poland.

Andreas Gorka, castellan of Posnania, and general or first magistrate of the province of Grand Poland, a grandee possessed of enormous wealth, and who had already embraced the reformed doctrines, received the pious wanderers with the greatest kindness, and located them in his domains of Kurnik, Kozmin, and Szamotuly. The brethren performed publicly divine service, and their hymns chaunted and their sermons preached in the Bohemian language, intelligible to the inhabitants of the country, gained for them at once the sympathies of the population. The Slavonian origin and language of the Bohemian Brethren gave them many advantages in Poland

which Lutheranism, being of German growth, did not possess, and they begun to entertain reasonable hopes of converting all the provinces of Grand Poland. But the bishop of Posnania, Izbicki, who saw the danger with which his diocese was menaced by the presence of the Bohemian Brethren, obtained, by the influence of the spiritual lords and some other zealous Roman Catholic senators, a royal order, issued on the 4th August 1548, to remove the brethren from the country. This order, which was wrested from the inexperienced Sigismund Augustus, who had been only a few months on the throne, was also motived on political grounds, as there was at that time a treaty between Bohemia and Poland, by which they were mutually bound not to receive subjects of one country emigrating to the other. The brethren left Poland and passed into Prussia; but they had already sown abundant seed in the province where they had dwelt for some time, and many a flourishing community was afterwards established by them in that part of Poland; but as this belongs not to the period we are now describing, we shall relate it in another part of our narrative.

Such was the state of Poland at the death of Sigismund the First, in 1548. It was overrun by the opinions of reformers of various shades, but they had not yet taken any consistency, or assumed any defined form, by establishing congregations following the rule of faith and mode of

worship of the reformed churches, established in various parts of western Europe.

This took place only under the subsequent reign of Sigismund Augustus (1548-1572), when the Protestant churches were established in Poland, not as tolerated, but as legally acknowledged communities.

CHAPTER II.

Progress of the Reformation during the first years of the Reign of Sigismund Augustus.

Agitated state of the country at the accession of Sigismund Augustus, caused by his marriage with Barbara Radziwill.

The accession of Sigismund Augustus, in the month of May 1548, was not attended with the most auspicious circumstances. There was no dispute about his right to the sovereignty, as this important matter had been wisely settled by his election and coronation while he was still a boy.* But although Sigismund's rights as a monarch

* Sigismund Augustus, who was born in 1519, was elected king 1529, and crowned the ensuing year, with the express condition that he should not take any part in the government during his father's life; this measure was very well advised, as it prevented an *interregnum*, and the troubles attending the election of a new sovereign.

were formally established, he was attacked on a subject which was more precious to him than the crown of his ancestors. After the demise of his first consort, Elizabeth of Austria, Sigismund Augustus married secretly at Vilna, Barbara Radziwill, a lady of great beauty and accomplishments.* This alliance, which was concealed before the death of his father, was made public immediately after his accession. A violent opposition to the king's marriage was raised throughout all Poland. It was opposed by the jealousy of the nobles against the already powerful family of the Radziwill, whose influence was increased by that alliance, although the law prohibiting the marriage of a sovereign without consent of the Diet, was enacted many years afterwards. It was also thought by many a fit opportunity for circumscribing the royal authority by new limitations.

The opposition against the royal marriage at the Diet of Piotrkow was so violent, that the primate Dzierzgowski, a prelate distinguished by his hatred to the Protestants, and who was the leader of that opposition, declared that he was ready to absolve the monarch from the oath which bound him to his queen, and to distribute the sin of perjury amongst all the subjects of the realm. The king remained, however, firm in his attachment

* She was a widow, having been married before to Gastold, palatine of Troki.

to his wedded wife, and succeeded by his firmness, and the assistance of some faithful friends, in overcoming the opposition, so that Barbara was acknowledged queen, and crowned by her violent opponent the primate Dzierzgowski himself. The Protestants followed, on that occasion, a most unwise line of policy. They ought to have supported the monarch against the opposition, in order to gain him over to their interests; they had besides an additional motive for doing it, as the relatives of Barbara openly professed the reformed doctrines;* and the hostility of Dzierzgowski, the head of the Roman Catholic church of Poland, to the young queen, seemed naturally to place the Protestants amongst her defenders. Such however was not the case, and the Protestant nobles, instead of supporting the monarch, joined the Roman Catholics in their senseless outcry against his marriage, the imaginary interests of their order rendering them forgetful of the real ones of their religion: for we cannot see any true motives of patriotism in that sensitive jealousy with which the nobles sought on that occasion to defend their privileges from the dangers which might threaten them from the

Unwise line of policy followed on that occasion by the Protestant nobles.

* Nicholaus Radziwill, palatine of Vilna, grand-general and chancellor of Lithuania, who had much contributed to the spread of the Reformation in his country, was the brother of Barbara.

overgrown influence of the Radziwills, without regard to those sacred rights which the monarch possessed as a husband in common with the rest of mankind.

Riot of the students of the university of Cracow, and emigration of a great number of them to foreign academies.

The beginning of the reign of Sigismund Augustus was marked by an event, which, although insignificant in itself, was important by its consequences, and has much accelerated the progress of the Protestant doctrines in Poland. In 1549 Regina Strzemotska, a common prostitute, being publicly insulted by some students of the university, who stood before the door of *All-Hallows* College, called to her assistance the servants of Czarnkowski, prebendary of Cracow, and principal of the above-mentioned college. The servants took part against the students, and a scuffle ensued, in which the servants having made use of fire-arms, killed some students. This occurrence produced a universal commotion amongst all the students of the university, who entered into a mutual obligation to obtain a signal satisfaction for the murder of their comrades. The whole body of the students went to the royal castle, to supplicate for justice against the perpetrators of the murder; but particularly against Czarnkowski himself, whom they accused as being the chief promoter of that crime. Samuel Maciejowski, bishop of Cracow, dissuaded them from marching in such a crowd to the castle, repre-

senting it as an insult to royalty, and promised to obtain for them full redress. They retired from the castle and perambulated the streets, carrying on their shoulders the dead bodies of their comrades, and making violent speeches.

Having confirmed their mutual obligation to prosecute the guilty, they chose one of their number to lead that prosecution. They declared also that if they should not obtain justice they would leave the university, and even the country. The king granted an audience to a deputation of the students, who preferred an accusation, the violence of which shows the hatred which animated them against the ecclesiastical authority, and which waited only for an opportunity to manifest itself. They accused Czarnkowski that, being the principal of the college, he had ordered his servants to use violence; but he proved that he had not even been in the house when the tumult arose, and the murder was committed. The king blamed the riotous conduct of the students, and ordered the affair to be investigated by Samuel Maciejowski, bishop of Cracow, as chancellor of the university, a prelate distinguished by the mildness of his character and urbanity of his manner. The students did not appear before the judge, considering him as a partial one, and refused to prosecute their accusation. Czarnkowski was declared innocent, but the servants were im-

prisoned. However, as no accuser appeared, there was no trial. The students resolved on leaving the university. It was impossible to use any coercion against such a resolution, and the authorities tried by conciliatory means to prevent its execution.

The students were invited to the church of Saint Franciscus, where they found assembled all the university, the bishop of Cracow, and John Tarnowski, the most respected grandee of his time. They were addressed by Tarnowski, who promised them the punishment of the guilty, and who was listened to with great attention; but when the bishop wished to speak he was interrupted, and could not obtain a hearing. The students left the church with great tumult, and resolved on leaving the town the following day. Cracow exhibited a mournful scene; nothing was heard but groans, lamentations, and parting farewells. The town lost the most animated and brilliant part of its population. According to the words of a cotemporary author,* "the schools became silent; the halls of the university were deserted; the churches were mute, and the oldest inhabitant of Cracow had never witnessed a greater calamity and a more general lamentation." The wanderers assembled together, heard mass in a

* Zalaszowski, in his *Jus Publicum Regni Poloniæ.*

church of the suburb Kleparz, and began their pilgrimage singing a sacred hymn. Some of them were persuaded to return; but the greatest part left the country, and repaired to foreign universities. The greater part of the emigrants went to Silesia, which was in some respects only a continuation of Poland, and where the celebrated school of Goldberg was at that time in a very flourishing condition, under the direction of Frankendorf, the most eminent of Melancthon's pupils. This school was already the favourite resort of many Polish students, and we may mention the noble family of Leszczynski as one of those who generally educated their children in that establishment. Many students went also to the newly erected university of Konigsberg in Prussia.* They returned home almost

* The university of Konigsberg contributed much to the spread of scriptural knowledge in Poland. The first Polish Gospel, and the first anti-romanist works published in that language, appeared under the direction of that learned institution. It was established in 1544, by Albert duke of Prussia, first cousin to Sigismund Augustus, with the object of promoting religious, literary, and scientific information amongst the German, Polish, and Lithuanian populations which inhabited the dominions of Prussia. Duke Albert entertained the project of mounting the throne of Poland after the death of king Sigismund Augustus, and he tried by every means to make himself popular in that country. He accepted the dignity of a Polish senator, and would have probably succeeded, through the support of the Protestant party,

all imbued with Protestant opinions, and powerfully contributed to the spread of that doctrine by communicating them to their families.

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party, in his plans, had they not been destroyed by his death in 1568. His only son was a very weak prince, and unable to follow up the schemes of his father. In those times the privilege of the Pope or the emperor seems to have been supposed by many as indispensable to the foundation of a university, and Sabinus, the first rector of that of Konigsberg, was so strongly impressed by that idea, that he applied to Cardinal Bembo, in order by his instrumentality to obtain from the Pope a charter for a university established with the avowed purpose of opposing his authority. Bembo politely declined that ridiculous request. The emperor likewise refused to grant the demanded charter; but Sigismund Augustus was more liberal, and granted to the Protestant university of Konigsberg a charter, *proprio motu* dat. Vilno, 28th March 1561. He had certainly the best right of doing that act, being the liege lord of the duke of Prussia; and he expresses by the above-mentioned charter that he was founding by it the said university (universitatem condidimus et ereximus,) to which he gave equal rights with that of Cracow. We must not omit a rather odd circumstance, that the above-mentioned charter for the erection of a Protestant university was countersigned by Padniewski, vice-chancellor of Poland, and Roman Catholic bishop of Przemysl. When the privileges of that university were confirmed by Vladislav the Fourth, king of Poland, the act of confirmation was likewise countersigned by the vice-chancellor Gembicki, also a Roman Catholic prelate. The Polish monarch had an opportunity of exercising his supremacy, as liege lord of Prussia, in a beneficial manner to the privileges of the university of Konigsberg, in 1617. The duke of Prussia having appropriated to himself the right of nominating professors, which was vested in the university

Valenty, parish priest of Krzczonow, gives the first instance of marying a wife, and of openly avowing his Protestant opinions.

Another event which happened the same year (1549,) proved the strength which the Protestant opinions had already acquired in Poland. Valenty, rector of Krzczonow (a parish in the diocese of Cracow), publicly married a wife. Samuel Maciejowski, bishop of Cracow, summoned him for that offence to appear before an ecclesiastical court. The accused priest boldly presented himself to the bishop, being accompanied by some individuals distinguished by their rank or learning, such as Nicholaus Olesnicki, lord of

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sity by its charter, the affair was referred to the king of Poland, whose commissaries, Adam Kossobudzki, castellan of Wyszogrod, and Sadowski, a royal secretary, decided it in favour of the university. The primitive object of the theological faculty of the university of Konigsberg was to form ministers fit to expound the word of God to the Polish and Lithuanian populations of Prussia in their national languages, and to supersede the rather extraordinary custom which had heretofore prevailed in that country. As the above-mentioned Poles and Lithuanians did not understand the German language, there was always a translator standing near the pulpit, who translated to the congregation the sermon, which was preached in German, unintelligible to the most of them. A theological seminary was established at the university, containing twenty-four pupils, fourteen of whom were for the Polish and Lithuanian languages. In 1728, a separate seminary was established for the Poles and Lithuanians of Prussia, besides a foundation made by the princes Radziwill for Protestant scholars from Poland and Lithuania. Vide Arnold's History of the University of Konigsberg, 1745, in German.

Pinczow; Nicholaus Rey of Naglowice, celebrated as the first poet in Poland, and a zealous reformer;* Remigius Chelmicki, and some others. Orzechowski, who was soon to acquire a great celebrity, supported that cause by his morda-

* Nicholaus Rey, surnamed of Naglowice from an estate of that name which belonged to him, is the first who has written Polish poetry in the sixteenth century. He translated the Psalms, the Apocalypse, and its explanation by Bullinger. But the work which gained the greatest popularity is his *Postilla,* which he published in 1556, and which contributed much to the spread of the reformed doctrines. It is written with all the scurrility by which the polemical works of that time were disgraced, and is ornamented with wood-cuts, representing caricatures of the Pope and Cardinals, similar to those which at that period were frequently published in different parts of Europe.

Besides the above-mentioned works, he published *Sacred Hymns; A Catechism for Young People;* and "*The Image of an Honest Man.*" This last is a moral essay on different subjects, and contains a curious picture of the manners and customs of Poland during the sixteenth century. Rey was an eminently national character, and this has much contributed to the great popularity his works enjoyed in his country. His education was rather neglected: but he repaired that deficiency by his natural talents, and by his strenuous exertions to acquire knowledge. He was renowned for the great joviality of his character, and was considered one of the most agreeable companions of his time; for which reason, notwithstanding the violence of his Protestant opinions, he was a welcome guest, and even intimate friend of many Roman Catholic bishops. He died in 1569. Rey was held in great veneration by the Protestant writers of his country,

cious pen. Assisted by such auxiliaries, the rector of Krzczonow, instead of avoiding judgment, sought it as a fit opportunity for promulgating his opinions against the Roman Catholic church; but the bishop Maciejowski, who foresaw what would be the consequences of a trial where it was impossible to enforce the sentence against heresy, and which would only increase its force by showing the weakness of the clergy, prudently abandoned the prosecution. Maciejowski's successor to the episcopal see of Cracow, Zebrzydowski, was of a different temper from that of his predecessor, who was of a very mild and conciliatory disposition. Zebrzydowski was a man of remarkable talents and learning, which he particularly acquired under the tuition of Erasmus, whose

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country, and one of them (Miaskowski) says:—"Nicholaus Rey, whom our nation places as high as the Greeks did Hesiod and the Romans Ennius, because all three have shown their respective nations the road to science." Andreas Trzecieski says, "*Rejus quem magnum scire, vocare potest.*" The Catholics, on the contrary, abused him most violently, calling him, Satan unbound; the dragon of Oksza (an estate belonging to him); the Sardanapalus of Naglowice. His life was written by Andreas Trzecieski, or Tricesius. There is an excellent article on him in the Biographical Dictionary of the Polish Poets by the Reverend Juszynski, who, although a Roman Catholic clergyman, is a very impartial critic.

favourite pupil he seems to have been.* We have already mentioned that he took part in the meetings of the society which discussed religious subjects at Cracow; but although he had at one time evinced a considerable leaning towards the Protestant doctrines, he became afterwards a most zealous and violent defender of the Roman Catholic church. Zebrzydowski is accused of having been a complete unbeliever, and of having publicly treated the most important dogmas of revealed religion as mere fables;† but we must be very cautious in admitting such a heavy charge, particularly as it is proffered by his adversaries.

Zebrzydowski, bishop of Cracow, a violent opponent of the Reformation. Character of that prelate.

Zebrzydowski resolved on acting against the growing heresy, and summoned to his tribunal

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* Erasmus calls him, in his letters, "*meus Zebrzydovius.*" Vide his letter.

† Zebrzydowski is accused by Lubieniecki, a Socinian writer, of having publicly said: "*Gramen quod falce resectum jaceat-redibit, ego autem falce mortis demessus non amplius resurgam, crede et in hircum si velis, dummodo mihi decimas pendas.*" This accusation resembles much that which has been broached against Pope Leo the Tenth, but which was refuted by Roscoe, in his admirable life of that pontiff; and it may be that the charge against Zebrzydowski has no more foundation than that against the accomplished Leo. Zebrzydowski has been also accused of profligate manners: but as we have no other proofs against his personal character than the evidence of his opponents, we shall only describe his public actions.

His vain attempt to persecute Przeclawski, a noble who had publicly embraced Protestantism.

a landowner called Conrad Krupka Przeclawski, to appear on a charge of favouring Lutheranism, and refusing the payment of tithes. Przeclawski obeyed the summons, and appeared before the bishop in company with some influential nobles partaking his religious persuasions. When interrogated concerning his religions opinions, he answered that he believed in the Gospels, which were the true word of God, and in Christ the head of the church. Being demanded to give an explanation of the real meaning of his words, he boldly stated them in the anti-Romanist sense, without any attempt at concealing his Protestant opinions.

The bishop offered a pardon if Przeclawski would recant his opinions; but his proposition was rejected. He therefore declared him a heretic, condemned him to death and confiscation of property, and recommended the temporal tribunals to carry his sentence into execution.*

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* Zebrzydowski's proceedings deserved great praise from Rome, and Pope Julius the Third expressed his satisfaction in the following manner: "*Quæ super intelleximus, a venerabilibus fratribus, Cracoviensi et Premislensi Episcopis contra Conradum Crupek, pie et constanter acta fuisse ea nobis grata acciderunt. Explicuit flagrantissimum tuendæ incorruptæ orthodoxæ religionis studium Andreas episcopus Cracoviensis atque Conradum Crupek novatorum signiferum justa severitate coercuit.*"—Vide Raynaldus, ad annum 1552.

It was, however, more easy to pronounce than to put into execution such a sentence as that which was given by Zebrzydowski. The idea of a bishop assuming the power of condemning a noble to a capital punishment for his opinions, a thing which even a monarch had no right arbitrarily to do in Poland, roused a general indignation, even among the Roman Catholic nobles. The chancellor of the crown dared not grant the *exequatur* to the episcopal decree, being well aware of the dangerous consequences it would have produced to the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Sigismund Augustus was by no means inclined to promote the interests of Romanism by allowing such a violent act against the liberty of his subjests, and which would not have been without danger even to his own authority. Nothing remained, therefore, to the clergy than to excommunicate Przeclawski; but as this excommunication produced no civil disabilities, it was of very little consequence to one who, like Przeclawski, had openly embraced the Protestant doctrines.

Although the cause of the Reformation had obtained a signal triumph in the case of Przeclawski, where the impotency of the Roman Catholic clergy to repress Protestantism by force was clearly proved, it was still promoted only in a manner which may be called passive, by proclaiming anti-Romanist opinions, by the marriage of some clergymen, and by the refusal to pay tithes

to the Roman Catholic clergy. The first direct attack on the Roman Catholic establishment was made by Nicholaus Olesnicki, lord of Pinczov, who, induced by Stancari, turned out the monks from a convent in his town, ejected the images from the church, and established there a public Protestant worship, according to the tenets and rites of Geneva.* This overt aggression on the Roman Catholic establishment could not be left unresented. Olesnicki was summoned before the ecclesiastical tribunal of Cracow. He obeyed the summons, but he arrived with such a number of friends and retainers, that the ecclesiastical tribunal was terrified, and dared not open its sittings. The clergy referred the affair to the king's judgment, acknowledging by this act their inability to cope with heresy, and, descending from the dignity of a judge, became only a party. Olesnicki appeared before the king and the senate, and openly confessed his opinions and actions.

Nicolaus Olesnicki converts the first Roman Catholic church into a Protestant.

He is summoned for this act before the king and the senate.

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* Andreas Tricesius (Trzecieski), a Polish writer of the tenth century, whom we have already mentioned, commemorated that event in the following verses :—

Primus ubi nutu cælesti Olesnicius herus
Aggreditur sanctæ religionis opus,
Ejicitque suis monachos idolaque templis,
Et sacra missarum prodigiosa Papæ
Restituit veteres cultus, formamque sacrarum.

Nicholaus Rey, whom we have already mentioned,* appeared on that occasion as the advocate of Protestantism; he brought forward the most bitter accusations against the convents, the clergy, and the Roman church itself; he even expressed his thanks to Olesnicki, for having shown to his countrymen, instead of a despised religion, a true Christian worship. Zebrzydowski defended the established religion, and tried to attack the Protestant doctrines, rather on political than religious grounds. "What will be the consequence," said he, "when heresy shall obtain freedom amongst us? There is not a crime which will not be perpetrated by the unbridled mob. There will be the like anarchy as there is in Germany, where the peasant no longer obeys the noble, the noble the prince, the prince the emperor. If the clergy fall, there will be also an end of civil authority. It is necessary to make an example, and to repress the dangerous innovations by severe laws."

Difference of opinion about his judgment. He goes unpunished.

According to Roman Catholic writers, the king, as well as all the senate, unanimously voted for a severe punishment; and even John Tarnowski, who at that time was the first man in his country, not only by his dignity, but also by his personal influence, was likewise inclined to severe measures; but that this uni-

* Vide note, page 161.

versal opinion was counterbalanced by the single voice of Valenty Dembinski, castellan of Biecz, who persuaded the king and the senate to abstain from any violent proceedings, and prevailed on them to adopt lenient measures. We have, however, no hesitation in declaring that statement incorrect, for the following reasons. Firstly, it is well known that Tarnowski * was

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* John Tarnowski is one of the most noble characters of our history. Born in 1488, from one of the first families in the country, he received the best education, and, displayed great talents from his boyhood, as he could explain Virgil when only ten years old. Having finished his studies in Poland, he went on his travels, and visited the Holy Land and Syria, as well as the coasts of the Black Sea and those of the Mediterranean. He afterwards joined Emmanuel, king of Portugal, in an expedition to Africa. He distinguished himself there in such a manner, that he received from the Portuguese monarch the most brilliant offers if he would remain in his service: but having refused them, he was dismissed with rich presents. Tarnowski left Portugal, and spent a long time at the courts of Francis the First, Charles the Fifth, and Leo the Tenth. He returned afterwards to his country, where by a long series of services he rose to the most eminent dignities, having become castellan of Cracow, which was the first rank amongst the temporal senators, and grand general of the crown, which rendered him the commander in chief of all the military forces of the kingdom.

He was exceedingly popular in his own country, and a proof of the high consideration in which he was held by his foreign contemporaries is afforded by the wording of the patent by which the emperor, Charles the Fifth, created Tarnowski count of the Roman empire. It says, that it is not with any intention

already at that time favourably inclined to the reformed doctrines, which he finally embraced, and consequently he would not have advised a severe punishment against those whose opinions he shared; secondly, we have sufficient evidence that many senators had already at that

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intention to add to Tarnowski's dignity that this title was conferred on him, but that it was done in order to honour the body of the counts of the Roman empire by his accession to their number. His wealth was so great, that when John Zapolya, king of Hungary, was driven from his states by Ferdinand of Austria, Tarnowski received him in his hereditary estate, the town of Tarnow, and maintained him with his court during two years in a style of royal dignity. This magnificent hospitality was acknowledged by Zapolya in a becoming manner, when he re-ascended his throne. Tarnowski died at his castle at Tarnow in 1571, being eighty-three years old. His funeral was solemnized with extraordinary pomp, and honoured by the presence of many foreign ambassadors, who were purposely sent by their monarchs to assist at the ceremony. Tarnowski was very fond of learning, and a great patron of learned men, of whom he always maintained some at his court. He had a splendid library and composed himself the following works. 1. "*Advices on the Art of War,*" written in Polish, and printed at Tarnow in 1558. 2. "*De bello cum juratissimis Christianæ fidei hostibus gerendo, ad Carolum Quintum imperatorem regem.*" This work was written when Charles the Fifth intreated the author to take the command of his armies against the Turks. 3. A Treatise on Law, published with a collection of Speeches which he had made on several occasions in the senate (in Latin). He wrote also the history of his own times; but it has never been published. From all that we have said about Tarnowski, it is natural to suppose that all parties looked

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time openly declared for the reformed doctrines, and consequently an unanimous decree which would establish a precedent so dangerous to the interests of their religion, is quite inadmissible. Moreover, it is almost impossible to suppose that the monarch and the senate would have seriously thought of punishing a man like Olesnicki, belonging to one of the first

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to him as one who was likely to decide the balance by inclining to one side or the other. The Roman Catholic clergy did every thing to retain him in the pale of their church; but Tarnowski, although he displayed much moderation, was decidedly for great reforms to be introduced into the church, and was very anxious to obtain from the Pope the confirmation of the following indulgences for the Polish church: the communion of two kinds; the liturgy in the national language; the marriage of priests; and the abolition of fasts as an obligation. He was very much opposed to the encroachments of the clerical power, and called the decrees of the synod of Lowicz of 1556, of which we shall speak hereafter, impious. Orzechowski says: "Some wish to overturn the entire establishment of the old faith in Poland, but some others will do nothing in that respect. John Tarnowski was for a middle course; he did not wish to change the religion, but to amend its abuses."—Orzechowski, apud Ossolinski. The Protestant writer Tricesius, whom we have already quoted, says:—*Ecce decus nostrum Tarnovius sicut apostolicæ damnat deliriæ sedis.*"—Tarnowski favourably received the eulogies given to him by Calvin for his advocating a reform in the church. He maintained also a friendly correspondence with Melancthon and the learned Italian reformer Vergerius. The fact of Tarnowski having decidedly embraced the reformed religion is positively stated by the learned Philip Padniewski, vice-chancellor of Poland and a Roman

families in the country, and influential through his riches and connexions, if comparatively insignificant persons, as Krupka and the rector of Krzczonow, escaped without punishment, notwithstanding the efforts of the clergy to condemn them to the most severe penalties for their heresy. The fact is, that Olesnicki was never tried for heresy, as the cognizance of such a case belonged to the spiritual, and not to the temporal tribunals, but only for the violence committed by him in ejecting the Roman Catholic priests from their church and convent. Olesnicki was simply obliged to promise the restoration of the convent to the monks, whom he had ejected thence—but this compulsory promise was never fulfilled. But although Protestantism manifested on that occasion sufficient strength to struggle with the established church of Poland, and to maintain the ground it had ganied, still it had no legal existence, no rights acknowledged by the national legislation, and might be considered only as a successful revolt against the ancient order of things.

Roman Catholic bishop, who in his work, "*Elogia illustrum Poloniæ virorum suæ etatis,*" says that "Tarnowski has changed the religion of his ancestors, and followed the opinion of those who were spreading error at that time." The work of Padniewski has never been printed, but the well-known Polish biographer Bohomolec, who wrote a life of Tarnowski, possessed the manuscript of Padniewski, and we have quoted on his authority the above-mentioned passage.

Sigismund Augustus was obliged, in order to accelerate the coronation of his queen, Barbara Radziwill, to give a promise that he would not grant the dignities of the state to hereties: but his promise remained without effect, as the monarch was neither able, nor had any serious wish to fulfil it.

The Roman Catholic synod of Piotrkow of 1551 resolves to extirpate heresy by all possible means.

The Roman Catholic church of Poland saw clearly the dangers by which it was threatened. The primate Dzierzgowski, whom we have already mentioned as the great opponent to the king's alliance with Barbara Radziwill, convoked a synod at Piotrkow in 1552. This convocation resolved on the extirpation of heresy, which was beginning to infect the clergy itself. Hosius bishop of Varmia, who afterwards obtained a deplorable celebrity by his successful hostility to the reformers, and particularly by introducing the Jesuits into his country, composed on that occasion a form of creed, which was to serve as a test of orthodoxy for every true Roman Catholic. Besides the fundamental dogmas of the Roman Catholic church, the above-mentioned creed contained all the minor absurdities and practices which modern Rome has so evidently borrowed from the Pagan rites of the ancient city of the Cæsars.* This

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* "*Tu credis, aquam benedictam, invocationem sanctorum et consecrationem herbarum esse efficacem? Credis purgatorium, Papam,*

creed was dedicated by the primate Dzierzgowski to the king, whom he calls *propugnator fidei*, and all the clergy was enjoined to subscribe to it. It was resolved at the same time to petition the monarch that he would order all the public officers, the senate, and the equestrian order, to subscribe to the same creed, and to observe it as the only true articles of faith. The same synod prohibited lands belonging to the church from being let on lease to persons suspected of heresy, and forbade the clergy to frequent any place or company where religious matters might be discussed. Besides those measures which we may call preventive, the synod resolved to adopt some others of a more active and energetic kind. It was decided to begin a real war against the heretic nobles, and to impose for that purpose a considerable tax on the clergy. A most severe persecution was to be commenced against the heretics, and the king's assistance to that persecution was to be secured by the bribe of the confiscation of the property of the

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Papam, Missam, jejunia, vota, atque cœlib atum ?—"Wengierski book i. chap. 13. Vide also "*Hosii opera,*" *Antverpiæ* 1571, and "*Stanislai Hosii vita autore Rescio,*" *Romæ* 1587. According to Orzechowski, the subscription to the above-mentioned creed by the clergy was resolved because many of the bishops were suspected of heresy : "*quod multo inter episcopos erant suspecti.*' Vide Orichovii annalium.

heretics.* The bishops of Cujavia and of Kamienietz represented in vain the dangers of attacking such a powerful body as the Equestrian order in Poland; but this moderate advice was silenced by the voice of fanaticism and passion. The synod decided on putting into execution the violent resolutions it had enacted, and the bishops filled the country with judicial citations against the clergy and nobles who had broken off their connexion with the Roman church. They were confirmed in their resolution by the court of Rome, which recommended, by an encyclical letter to the bishops, the extirpation of heresy.

Attempt to put into execution the resolutions of their synod.

The first victim of the persecution was Nicholaus, rector of Kurow, a place belonging to the family of Zbonski, which had seceded from the Roman church in the times of the Hussites.* Nicholaus began in 1550 to preach the pure doctrines of the gospel, and allowed his parishioners the use of the communion of two kinds. Being cited before the ecclesiastical tribunal, he accused

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* "*Decretum factum hereticos bello persequendi, magna vis pecuniæ ecclesiasticis imperata. Regem sibi conciliare statuerunt, id quid multæ extorsissent, id regem sibi vendicaturum.*"—Bzovius ad annum 1551. "*Decretum erat ibi episcopos cum nobilitate heretica plane indictum bellum gerere.*"—Wengierski, book i. chap. 13. "*Cum hereticis plane indictum bellum gerere pecunia grandis sacerdotibus imperata.*"—Orichovius Annalium.

† Vide page 81.

the bishop of his diocese, Andreas Zebrzydowski, and defended his doctrines from the pulpit. He was seized, imprisoned, and suffered martyrdom either by poison or murder.* Stanislav Stadnicki, whom we have already mentioned as the patron of Stancari, established in his domain, Dobiecko, the reformed worship, and ordered the children to be baptized according to its rites. Dziaduski, bishop of Przemysl, cited Stadnicki, who offered to give a justification of his religious opinions; but the ecclesiastical tribunal rejected that offer, and condemned him, by default, to civil death and loss of property. When representations were made against such rash proceedings, the bishop answered, that no leniency ought to be shown to heretics, who should be, whether present or absent, speedily judged and destroyed.† The sentence of the bishop, however, could not be carried into effect; and Stadnicki denounced before his assembled fellow citizens, in the strongest terms, the encroachments of the clergy on the rights and liberty of the nobles. "The clergy" said he, "not content with having filled the

Martyrdom of Nicolaus, parish priest of Kurow.

Unsuccessful attempts at persecuting Stadnicki and other nobles.

* Wengierski, book i. chap. 18. Lubieniecki relates, that Martinus Kurowski, or of Kurow, was in 1550 imprisoned, starved to death, and his corpse cast out naked. *Query.* Whether Martinus and Nicholas are the same? Vide *Hist. Reformationis Pol. lib.* I.

† *Cum hereticis celeriter agendum, sive adsint, sive non; Missis, ambagibus, condemnandos, proscribendos, tollendos.*

towns with their abominations, seek to drive us from the kingdom, after having deprived us of honour and despoiled us of property. They are like wild beasts, which, pampered with too great an abundance of food, seek to tear those who feed them. We must recommend to our representatives the enactment of laws, guarding the nobles from the loss of honour, life, and property, without being lawfully convicted by a judgment of the Diet presided over by the king." The clergy endeavoured to prosecute the heretics all over Poland. The primate himself cited many eminent citizens, such as the two Lasocki (John and Christopher), and James Ostrorog. A priest called Martinus Krowicki, accused of having married a wife, narrowly escaped martyrdom, but found refuge at Pinczow, where, as we have already related, Olesnicki had publicly established the reformed worship. Two brothers of the name of Bialobrzeski, one abbot of Mogila, and the other abbot of Jendrzejow (both in the diocese of Cracow), were prosecuted, on account of their having married wives, and were in great danger of suffering martyrdom.

Yet, although the Roman Catholic church of Poland betrayed at that time a strong desire to crush its opponents by the most violent persecution, its bloody intentions were thwarted by the free institutions of the country, and by the universal reluctance of the temporal magistrates to

carry into execution the barbarous decrees awarded by the ecclesiastical tribunals, against their fellow citizens. Except some solitary cases, as that of the rector of Kurow, and probably some few others, perpetrated in the darkness of the convent, and hidden by deep secrecy from the knowledge of an indignant public,* the efforts of the clergy to persecute the heretics remained fruitless, and their attempt to re-invigorate the declining power of the church, by the adoption

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* Martinus Krowicki, whom we have mentioned as having been persecuted for his marriage, wrote the following Polish lines, replete with the most terrible accusation against the bloody persecutions of the Roman clergy in Poland:

Owe Krakowskié turmy by prawić umiały
Lipowieckie katusze gdyby mówić śmiały
Dowiedziałby się każdy, jak głodem morzono,
Pogańskim obyczajem bito i męczono,
Za śmierć Xiędza Michała, Bogu odpowiecie
Bo chociaż księgi jego wszystkie popalicie
Nie zatracicie jednak Boskiéj prawdy onéy
Żeście skryby, Faruze i lud potępiony.

i. e. "If the dungeons of Cracow could speak, if the tortures of Lipowiec dared to talk, every body would know how people were starved, beaten, and tormented in a pagan manner. Ye shall have to answer before God for the death of the priest Michel; but, although you will burn all his books, you shall never destroy the divine truth, which proves that ye are scribes, pharisees, and condemned people!"—It is impossible to know who was the priest Michel alluded to in these lines, and what kind of death he had suffered.

of severe measures against those who had seceded from its pale, produced a strong reaction, favourable to the professors of the reformed doctrines. The Equestrian order, who had constantly evinced a great jealousy of the royal authority, and limited its extent, so as to ensure a perfect inviolability of their persons and property, perceived with terror the tendency manifested by the church to acquire a power that might prove more dangerous to their liberty than the authority of the monarch. The idea of becoming subject to the sway of a body which, directed by a foreign, irresponsible leader sought to usurp a right to decide about the honour, life, and property of the citizens, filled the minds of the Polish nobles with horror, and the same outcry which was raised by the Protestant Stadnicki, was uttered throughout Poland, even by those nobles who remained in the community of the Roman church. But the most severe blow which was inflicted at that time on the Roman Catholic church in Poland, was directed by one individual who deserves a particular notice in the history of Poland—one who might have rendered great services to his country in respect to religion, literature, and politics, if his eminent talents had not been degraded by an uncontrolled violence of passion and an utter destitution of principles.

The attempts of the R. C. clergy raise a violent opposition on the part of the nobles of Poland.

CHAPTER III.

THE DIET OF 1552 VIRTUALLY ABROGATES THE ECCLESIASTICAL JURISDICTION. ORZECHOWSKI, MODRZEWSKI AND STANCARI; THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE RELIGIOUS APFAIRS OF POLAND.

Orzechowski, his character and influence on the religious affairs of Poland.

Stanislav Orzechowski, better known to learned Europe under his latinised name of Orichovius,* was born 1513 in the palatinate of Russia (present Gallicia). He made his first studies at Przemysl, a town situated in his native province, which he continued at Vienna, and completed at Wittemberg, where he became a favourite with Luther and Melancthon. He adopted the opinions of these reformers—not, however, as it seems from his own confessions, from a sense of piety and love of truth, but because he found them more convenient to his reckless character. "Having been sent to Germany," he says himself, "I became enamoured of innovation; I considered that

* Vide Bayle, Dict. historique et critique, art. Orichovius.

it would be very honourable to me if, by introducing some German doctrines, I should be distinguished from my equals in age, as for instance: such principles as, to disobey the Pope; to have no respect for laws; to revel always, and never to fast; to seize the church property; to know nothing about God; to exterminate the monks. After three years of study I arrived at that truth, that all that is old, that is paternal, is not just. I wished to advance further, and I passed to Carlostadt, of whom it was said, that all that he has taken from Luther, he has made still worse. To the guidance of such leaders I intrusted myself, and whoever made more and bolder innovations, him I considered better and more learned."*

This description of the particular tenets which he confessed, expressed in the most coarse and abusive language, was written at a time when he had joined the Romanists, and attacked the Protestants; and although the account which he gives of his connexion with the reformers was written in order to throw an odium on the Protestant doctrines, he gave at the same time a true picture of his passionate character, which rendered him, through all his life, equally dangerous as a friend or as an enemy.

After having finished his studies at the German

* Stanislai Orichovii Roxolni Chimera. Coloniæ, 1563.

universities, Orzechowski visited Rome, and returned to his native land in 1543, thoroughly imbued with the opinions of the reformers. He began openly to broach them in his country: but he soon perceived that they could not afford him any worldly advantages, whilst the Roman Catholic church could dispose of wealth and honours in favour of its defenders. He therefore entered into orders, and was, after some time, promoted to the canonry of Przemysl. But, although a member of the Roman Catholic clergy, he could not entirely conceal his real opinions, being continually excited by his ungovernable passions, and stimulated by his relative, Rey of Naglowice, whom we have already mentioned as one of the first Protestant writers of his country. Afraid of losing, by an overt attack on the Roman Catholic church, the advantages he derived as one of her dignitaries, he did it in an indirect manner. Being the inhabitant of a province where the Greek religion was prevalent, he began to discuss in his writings the councils of Ferrara and Florence, where the supremacy of the Pope over the eastern church was acknowledged by the emperor of Constantinople and the Greek deputies. Although he ostensibly professed a great respect for those councils, and spoke with an apparent respect of the submission of the Greek church of Poland to the supremacy of the Popes, he expressed several opinions favourable to its independence, or, as

Rome calls it, *schism*, and openly defended the matrimony of the priests. Having been cited before the ecclesiastical authorities for attempting innovations dangerous to the repose of the church and the purity of its doctrines, Orzechowski made a recantation of his opinions, and the book which contained them was condemned to be burned.

This submission of Orzechowski to the authority of his church was not, however, of long duration; and when the rector of Krzczonow married a wife, Orzechowski took, as we have already mentioned,* his part violently against the clergy. Soon afterwards, he himself publicly married Magdaline Chelmicki; and when the bishop of Przemysl cited him on that account before his tribunal, he arrived in company with such numerous and powerful friends that the bishop dared not to open the court, but, affecting to judge him by default, signed a decree of excommunication, inflicting upon him the penalty of infamy and confiscation of property.

He marries a wife in spite of being a R. C. priest, and is persecuted for that.

Orzechowski was not intimidated by such proceedings; he entered a church during the performance of divine service (which was instantly stopped on account of his presence), and exposed to the assembled congregation a justification of his conduct. He complained at the same time before the tribunal of the province of the violent and

His vigorous defence.

* Vide page 161.

cruel proceeding of the church, and made an appeal from the episcopal sentence to the archbishop. The church, however, still retained its legal authority, and the excommunication was consequently binding. The king was prevailed upon to issue an order for its execution, addressed to the palatine and starost* of Cracow; but Kmita, palatine of Cracow, dared not to execute an order so contrary to public opinion, and suspended its fulfilment, under some pretence or other, till the meeting of the next Diet. The daring pretensions of the Romish church spread among the whole nation a general spirit of opposition to its encroachments on the liberty of the citizens. This prevalent feeling exercised a decided influence on the Diet of 1550. The first nobles of the country, Nicholaus prince Radziwill, palatine of Vilna, Martinus Zborowski, palatine of Kalisz, Nicholaus Brudzewski, palatine of Lenczyca, Raphael Leszczynski, palatine of Rava, Andreas Gorka, castellan of Posnania, in the senate; Peter Boratynski, Nicholaus Krzycki, and John Sierakowski, in the chamber of Nuncios, appeared as accusers of the Roman Catholic clergy. Orzechowski, who had, by his passionate and brilliant eloquence, fanned the general indignation against the church of Rome into a terrible flame, succeeded in gaining a paramount influence over the delibe-

Hostile feelings evinced against the R. C. clergy, manifested by the Diet of 1550.

* Starost, vide note in page 110.

rations of the diet; and he may be considered as having chiefly advanced on that memorable occasion the cause of religious liberty. Having read before the Nuncios the atrocious expressions of the Roman Catholic excommunication, he put the question whether the bishops should be allowed to dispose of human life by such barbarous decrees? The chamber decided that no one but the monarch had the right of judging citizens, and of condemning them to any penalty whatever; and its orators represented to Sigismund Augustus, that he should not permit the bishops to usurp the privileges of his crown.* Orzechowski addressed the king and the senate with equal boldness. He attacked Rome with the most bitter invectives, and justified the matrimony of priests by powerful arguments. The bishops began to perceive their fault, and saw that by their untimely severity they had excited the hatred of the nation, which was rejecting their jurisdiction through the medium of its assembled representatives. The monarch neither dared, nor wished to condemn the heresy defended in such an able and powerful manner. These

Influence of Orzechowski at that Diet.

* "*Nuncii jam ante adversus Episcoporum potentiam exacerbati.* Bzovius ad 1550. *Nuncii adversus potentiam Episcoporum exacerbati Regem adeant, orant, ne Rex Episcopos jus regium sibi usurpare in Polonia pateretur, soli Regi, convictos rerum capitalium licere proscribere ac illorum bona publicare, præterea nemini.*"—Wengierski, i. 13.

considerations induced the bishops to adopt a more conciliatory policy; and Macieiowski, bishop of Cracow, who had been always contrary to violence, opposed also on this occasion his wonted moderation to the zeal of his colleagues. The king suspended his decision on that important subject. A conciliatory conversation between the bishops and Orzechowski was suggested by some well-meaning persons. Orzechowski accepted that proposition, and appeared in company with his principal friends; but the clergy could not consent to such a public humiliation as to meet on equal terms a culprit condemned by their authority, and refused him a hearing. They, however, postponed the affair, and, without absolving Orzechowski from the excommunication, suspended its effects. He was to remain quiet until the decision of the Pope, from whom he was to seek the permission of retaining his wife.

The Diet of 1550 left the important contest between the Roman Catholic church and its adversaries without a final decision. It did not approve the pretensions of the former, without condemning the claims of the latter. The weakness of Romanism was made evident: but Protestantism did not yet succeed in establishing its legal existence, although it had been virtually embraced by the principal part of the leading persons of the country.*

* "*Tantos sibi sumebat spiritus nobilitas affluente hæresi, quæ primarios*

General irritation against the R. C. clergy.

The national indignation against the Roman clergy and its pretensions became almost the exclusive subject of the discussions which took place at the elections of 1552. All the country unanimously, and in a decisive manner, instructed their representatives at the Diet to restrict the authority of the bishops. The elections of the province of Russia, where Orzechowski had many friends and extensive connexions, were even more explicit in their demands than the others,* and they positively required the Diet should abolish the jurisdiction of the church. Rome saw its danger, and the Pope requested the king, in a hesitating manner, to maintain the jurisdictions of the church, and to put into execution the decrees of the bishops of Cracow and Przemysl, which we have already mentioned.

The Diet of 1552 manifests at its opening the most decided anti-Romanist opinions.

The tendency of the Diet of 1552, convoked under such auspices, could not be doubtful for a moment. At the mass, which was usually performed before the opening of the deliberations, many nun-

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primarios in regno optimates infecerat. Bzovius, an. 1550. *Equites Polonos contra vim Episcoporum non defuturos, neque passuros Episcopos in Polonia vitæ ac fortunarum dominos esse.*"—Orichovius, Annalium, 1551.

* "*Nullus conventus fuerat, in quo de minuenda pontificia potestate postulata non ederentur. Equites Rutheni electis legatis diligenter commendaverunt, ut nulla de re prius in comitiis ageretur, quam ut judicia Episcoporum abrogarentur.*"—Orzechowski, Annalium.

cios turned away their faces during the elevation of the host, whilst the monarch and the senate were bowing their knees before the sacrament. Raphael Leszczynski expressed his opinions in a more decisive manner. Standing before the king, without showing the slightest respect to the mass, he did not even uncover his head during the performance of the most sacred ceremony of the Roman church. The Roman Catholics dared not to reprove this open contempt of their worship, and the chamber of the nuncios gave the most decided approbation to that daring manifestation of anti-Romanist opinions, by electing marshal or chairman of their chamber the same Leszczynski, who had shortly before resigned his senatorial dignity, in order to become a nuncio.* This act removed every doubt about the real disposition of the majority of the Diet: and, indeed, this disposition was so general, that parties opposite in politics agreed in their hostility to the episcopal jurisdiction, which it was now quite impossible longer to maintain. The bishop of Przemysl, who had excommunicated Orzechowski, became the object of a general reproach ; even the bishops

* This Raphael Leszczynski was the descendant of Wenceslaus of Leszna or Leszczynski, whom Huss mentions as his defender at the council of Constance, and lineal ancestor of king Stanislav Leszczynski, father to Maria Leszczynski, the virtuous queen of the profligate Louis XVth of France.

upbraided him for having excited a storm which shook their authority, and proved so injurious to the Roman church. The king, who was naturally inclined to moderation, wished that they would themselves adopt a modification of their rights; but they all, with the exception of Drohoiowski, bishop of Vladislaw, who advised moderation, refused to make any concession.

The bishops refuse to surrender their rights.

The monarch seeing that nothing could be effected by conciliatory means, issued a decree conformable to the opinion of the majority of the Diet, by which it was statuted, that the clergy should retain the right of judging heresy, without any power of inflicting civil or criminal penalties on the condemned persons; or that it should decide only on matters of religion, but that such decisions could have no consequences in civil or political respects. The church could judge whether the doctrine was orthodox or heretical, but could not apply any temporal punishment to those whose creed it condemned.* This decision, which

The ecclesiastical jurisdiction is virtually abrogated by that Diet, which deprived the decrees of the spiritual courts of having any civil effects.

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* "1552 *Rex declaravit, causarum religionis cognitionem, dogmatum novorum discretionem ad solos pertinere Episcopos; verum honoris aut capitis diminutionem, ad illorum judicium minime spectare: ab eo tempore jurisdictio Episcoporum in causas novatæ religionis penitus concedit: quidovis impune credendi libertas, per totum grassaretur regnum.*"—Buzenski apud Ossolinski.

Piasecki, a Roman Catholic bishop, says also positively, that the king permitted the abolishment of the penalty of infamy, as a consequence of a condemnation of the church, *i.e.* that a sentence of the ecclesiastical courts should have no civil effect. Lubieniecki

established religious liberty in Poland, excited the greatest anger of the bishops. They made a solemn protestation against such an enactment, left the hall of the senate, and threatened to resign their senatorial dignities. But as these threats were disregarded, and no effort was made either to retain or to recal them to the senate, whose deliberations proceeded in the usual manner during their absence, they resumed their seats.

Irritation of the R. C. bishops against that enactment.

A proposition was started, whether it would not be useful to the nation to abolish the dignity of senators nominated not by the national sovereign, but by the Pope: *i. e.* whether it would not be expedient to expel the bishops from the senate. This proposition produced, however, no more consequences than the petitions addressed to the

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niecki and Wengierski describe the Diet of 1552 as the epoch of the fall of the Roman Catholic clergy's preponderance in Poland. Bzovius, Bielski, and Orzechowski (who at that time was a partisan of Rome) represented that memorable transaction in a false light, by giving only the first part of the abovementioned ordinance relating to the confirmation of the episcopal authority in religious matters, but they omitted that part which abolished its civil consequences. If the royal ordinance had fully confirmed the jurisdiction of the bishops, it would be impossible to conceive why, since 1552, the ecclesiastical courts ceased to judge the heretics. Bzovius says himself: "*Nequidem ex decreto Regis Episcopi agere potuerint et hæreses quam maxime execrandæ in omnibus regni provinciis propagerentur, atque episcoporum jurisdictionis potestas vilesceret,*" (ad an. 1552.)

same Diet for the introduction of the communion of two kinds, and the marriage of priests.

Attempts of the R. C. clergy to evade that enactment.

The Roman Catholic clergy attempted to evade the above-mentioned decision of the diet, and continued its excommunications against all those who were abandoning the pale of their church. The bishops tried to induce the starosts by all means, and chiefly by the threats of excommunication, to execute their orders, and it happened sometimes that a few of those magistrates, devoted to the Roman Catholic church, showed a disposition to support its pretensions, until the Diet of 1562 enacted a positive law, that no starost was to act contrary to the regulations of the Diet of Jedlno, which gave no power to the ecclesiastical decrees.*

The church affected to regard the excommunicated persons as civilly dead, and denied their right to appear in judgment and to give evidence, and continued to annoy them by different petty vexations; but the enactments of 1562, 1563, and 1565, which were only a confirmation and development of that of 1552, decided that persons who fell under the ecclesiastical censure were not affected by it in their civil rights. The church

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* Vide *Volumina Legum* for that year. The statute of Jedlno (1430) enacts that the *starosts* should execute the decrees of the territorial tribunals, without mentioning any other kind of jurisdiction.

could declare a person a heretic and excommunicate whomever it liked, but the object of such condemnation continued to enjoy all the rights of a citizen.

Orzechowski, who may be considered as the principal cause of the events which we have described, and whose works had greatly contributed to the overthrow of the barriers which the Roman Catholic church opposed to the progress of the Reformation, could have easily become the leader of the Protestant party. He soon, however, betrayed by the fickleness of his character, and the versatility of his opinions, the high vocation to which his great talents and bold character seemed to entitle him. The life of that extraordinary individual is indeed one of the most striking proofs, that the highest talent, destitute of principle, is unable to produce any thing that is really great or good. The Diet of 1552 was still engaged in rendering inefficient the proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts against the heretics, when Orzechowski, who was chiefly instrumental in bringing about this memorable transaction, so hostile to the Roman church in Poland, was seeking a reconciliation with that very church. On the 17th February 1552, he obtained an absolution from his excommunication; presented to a Roman Catholic synod a declaration of his entire adherence to its tenets, and resigned his ecclesiastical dignities. He

Versatility of Orzechowski, who reconciliates himself with the R. Catholics.

submitted to the authority of Rome his marriage, a confirmation of which was promised to him by the bishops, who did every thing in order to seduce from the Protestant party such a powerful writer as he was. The primate Dzierzgowski confirmed, on the 14th March 1553, the absolution of Orzechowski.

But again quarrels with them.

The Pope, however, was delaying to give a decision on that important subject, as he dared not to approve the marriage of a Roman priest; besides, Orzechowski was no longer so dangerous as he had formerly been, having lost, by deserting his former opinions, the extraordinary influence which he had exercised over all the nation. He soon perceived that Rome wished only to amuse him, and he began again to attack it with powerful arguments and the most bitter invectives.

In order to give an idea of the virulence of his writings, we shall quote some passages of his letters addressed to Pope Julius III:—"O holy father, I conjure you for God's sake, for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the holy angels! do read what I am writing to you, and give me an answer; do not play any tricks with me; I shall not give you any money; I wish not to have any bargains with you; you have taken gratis, you must give it also gratis." In another place he addresses the same pontiff:—"Consider, O Julius, and consider it well, with what a man you will

Orzechowski's letters to the to the Popes Julius the IIId. and Paul the IVth.

have to do—not with an Italian, indeed, but with a Russian; not with one of your mean popish subjects, but with the citizen of a kingdom, where the monarch himself is obliged to obey the law. You may condemn me, if you like, to death, but you will not have done with me: the king will not execute your sentence. The cause will be submitted to the Diet. Your Romans bow their knees before the crowd of your menials; they bear on their necks the degrading yoke of the Roman scribes; but such is not the case with us, where the law rules even the throne. The king our lord cannot do what he likes; he must do what the law prescribes. He will not say, as soon as you will give him a sign with your finger, or twinkle before his eyes with the fisherman's ring, 'Stanislaus Orzechowski, Pope Julius wishes you should go into exile; go therefore.' I assure you that the king cannot wish that which you do. Our laws allow him not to imprison, or to exile any one, who has not been condemned by a competent tribunal."*

The works of Orzechowski were put into the papal index, and he was declared himself by the ecclesiastical writers to be a servant of Satan.†

* Apud Ossolinski, Orzechowski calls himself a Russian, being, as we have already said, a native of the Palatinate of that name.

† *Premislensis Episcopus Stanislaum Orichovium Satanæ administrum judiciorum severitati subjecit.* Raynaldus.

But this proceeding excited only new and more vehement attacks on the part of Orzechowski, who assailed Pope Paul the IVth in the following words: "Since the abominable Caraffa, who calls himself Paul the IVth, has ejected from the church Moses and Christ, I shall willingly follow them. Can I consider it as a disgrace to be a companion of those whom he calls heretics? This anathema will be an honour and a crown to me. The neglect of the ancient discipline has corrupted and degraded us. Paul the IVth, take care to prevent the final fall of your see. Clear the city from its crimes; eradicate avarice; despise the profits arising from the sale of your favours. I shall clearly explain, and prove to my countrymen, that Roman corruption does more harm to the church than the Lutheran perversity." He covered the same Pope with the most opprobrious names, as for instance, "a sacrilege, a human monster, a wolf, scoundrel, drone, ass, ravenous beast, &c." Besides these invectives which he addressed to the Roman pontiff, Orzechowski announced a new work, entitled "Repudium Romæ,"* in which he was to expose all the errors and crimes of the Popes; entirely secede from the Roman church, and pass over to the Greek one, which was followed at that time by a great part of the inhabitants of his native province.

* The manuscript of that work was read by Modrzewski.

Orzechowski, who was again excommunicated in 1557, by the primate Dzierzgowski, for his attacks on the church of Rome, returned soon afterwards to the obedience of the same church that had excited his hostility. The death of his wife removed a great obstacle to his reconciliation with the Roman clergy, who were glad to silence such a desperate antagonist, and to convert him into a useful tool for combating their enemies. Orzechowski had become dangerous to the clergy, particularly by the strong arguments, couched in the most violent language, always acceptable to the multitude of readers, with which he advocated the expulsion of the bishops from the senate. The observations which he published on the oath of fidelity to the Roman see taken by the bishops, proved forcibly that they could not be entrusted with public offices; that a R. C. bishop invested with the dignity of a senator of the realm, was necessarily a traitor to his country, as he was obliged to prefer the interests of Rome to those of his sovereign, having sworn allegiance firstly to the Pope and then to the king. "The oath," says Orzechowski, addressing the king "abolishes the liberty of the bishops, and renders them spies of the nation, and of the monarch. The higher clergy having voluntarily submitted to this slavery, have entered by the same into a conspiracy, and raised a rebellion against their own country. Conspiring against you, they were sitting in your council,

His pungent remarks on the oath of fidelity to the Pope taken by the R. C. bishops.

they were investigating your plans, and reporting them to their foreign master. If you would, for the benefit of the public cause, limit the papal usurpations, they would proclaim their excommunications, and excite some bloody riots. The Pope has emitted from his bosom the monks, who like the locusts fell on your lands. Look only on all those crowds who are conspiring against you: how numerous and how barbarous they are! Cast your looks on the abbots, convents, chapters, and synods, and be assured that as many shaven crowns you will meet, so many conspirators you have. Surrounded with every kind of luxury, and similar to well-fed swine, they live amidst their paramours a comfortable and blessed life, and fatten themselves for the pasture of hell. It is very indifferent to them whether you are triumphant or humiliated, whether the country is happy or miserable. Has not a bishop said to your ancestor, 'Let rather the whole kingdom perish than the treasury of the church, being the heritage of the Pope and not of the king, should give one single penny to the wants of the public?* Other

* The Polish clergy were indeed very rich. For instance: Andreas Lipski, bishop of Cracow in 1630, left at his death 900,000 ducats (about £450,000) in cash, without reckoning his mobiliary. John Kuczborski, bishop of Chelm in 1623, left 500,000 ducats. Caraffa, bishop of Plock in 1615, bequeathed to his brother 7,000,000 dollars. The incomes of the bishops must have been immense if, notwithstanding a great expense which they

countries having perceived how dangerous it is to admit the servants of the Pope to the government of the country, excluded the bishops from their senates; follow their example—that of the Venetians, for instance. It is necessary to enact a law which would preserve to the clergy only their spiritual duties, and deprive them of political government. Let them baptise and preach, but not direct the affairs of the country. If, however, they wish to retain the senatorial dignity, let them renounce the allegiance of Rome. Is the Polish church not sufficient for them? But otherwise, they must not be considered as citizens of the country, because no one can conscientiously serve two masters. The Pope imposes a yoke by means of his slaves, the monks and the bishops, to the very king, although the royal authority is independent, and derived from God."*

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they were obliged to make, they could save such enormous sums, which established the fortunes of many a family in Poland. The expense to which the Polish bishops were exposed was indeed very great. They were obliged to keep princely establishments; many of them maintained at their costs regiments for the service of the state; they were bound to exercise a most profuse hospitality; and it is a well-known anecdote that an eminent clergyman refused a bishopric, saying that he did not wish to become a cook to the Polish nobles.

* *De primatu Papæ*, 8vo. 1558. It was published anonymously, without the place of printing, and some doubts were entertained as to its real author; but Modrzewski positively states that it was written by Orzechowski. Vide his *Narratio simplex*.

Orzechowski limited not his attacks against Rome to the political supremacy of the Popes, but he likewise impugned their spiritual authority, proving that it was entirely founded on a false interpretation of the words addressed by our Saviour to Peter, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church."

Such were the assaults which that unprincipled man directed against the Roman Catholic church, as long as its precepts presented an opposition to his unbridled passions. But after the death of his wife, when the chief obstacle to his reconciliation with the Roman church was removed by it, and when his growing age gave to ambition and avarice a preponderance over other passions which excited that violent character, Orzechowski recanted again all his writings against the Roman Catholic church, and became finally reconciled with it in 1559. After that time he became as zealous a champion of the Roman church as he had formerly been its antagonist. He now directed his hostility against the Protestants, with the same virulence and scurrility which characterises his works against Rome. Andreas Modrzewski and the Italian Stancari, who may be considered as two individuals who have exercised the greatest influence on the religious affairs in Poland, and who consequently deserve a particular notice, now became the chief objects of his hatred.

He becomes finally reconciled with the R. C. church, and turns his attacks against its antagonists.

Andreas Frycz Modrzewski was born in the palatinate of Sandomir in 1506, and embraced the opinions of the reformers during the preceding reign,* although he never publicly joined any one of the Protestant persuasions which became established during his life time.† In 1534 he went

Andeas Modrzewski, his character and writings.

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* "*Afferebantur libri ejus (Lutheri) ex Germania ad nos, ac in ipsa academia Cracoviensi publice vendebantur, legebantur a multis rerum novarum cupidis; nec a Theologis nostris improbarentur—tantum abest, ut libros vetitos legerent, ut etiam eos igni cremarent, atque in nostra Polonia infiniti essent, qui se in illorum disciplinam tradiderunt, quam et complecterunt et faterentur et profiterentur. Cum libros cognoscendi causa legissem, fieri non poterat, quin opiniones veteres in me minuerentur, novæ conciperentur.*" This narration gives an idea of the general disposition of minds amongst the most enlightened persons in Poland at that time.

† "*Scholæ cujus partes mihi sumpsi, hoc semper datum fuit, ut de rebus quibusvis dissereret. Nolo ut quisquam se mihi addicat: nam neque ipse mihi satisfacio, nec cuiquam addictus sum: nec isti, nec illi nos numerarunt in suis.*"—He wanted to discuss religious matters with a philosophical calm. "*Philosophia adhibenda, tanquam instrumentum et ratio quædam ac via veritatis inquirendæ.*" He had a great dislike to theological subtleties. "*Cesserunt illi labyrinthi de naturæ et personæ diversæ distinctione; de quo quidem a multis scribuntur et dicuntur multo sonu. An vero ab aliquo intelliguntur persuadere mihi non possum. Labore maximo discuntur, fructu vero minimo aut potius nullo.*" He recommended peace, charity, preaching of pure evangelical doctrine, and good works; and says: "*hoc si fecerimus magis finem et perfectionem theologiæ assequemur, quem si omnia quæstionum genera ediscamus et perdiscamus. Redeundum nobis ad simplicitatem professionis apostolicæ. Non in subtilitate verborum, nec intellectus varia consideratione pietas religiosa constitit. Cur tortuosas et obscura varietate implicatas excogitamus formulas, quæ in*

to the university of Wittemberg, where he completed his studies under the direction of Melancthon, whose friendship and esteem he fully possessed.* After having remained for some time in other parts of Germany, he returned to his country, where he became secretary to Sigismund Augustus, and succeeded in gaining the unlimited confidence of that monarch. The particulars of the life of that remarkable man are very little known. All that we know is, that his works were written or published between 1548 and 1565.†

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in re fundamentum habeant nullum." We are much afraid that this view of religion was bordering on indifference; for what other motive could induce Modrzewski to remain within the pale of the Roman church, whose abuses and superstitions he had condemned in a decided manner? He says positively, in one place, that he followed the opinions of the school of Pinczow and Dubiecko: "*quam ego sequar scholam Pinczoviensium et Dubiecensem,*" (vide his *Narratio simplex.*) But those schools which were at that time under the influence of Stancari had not yet any defined opinion about the doctrine of the Trinity, which the first of them only afterwards rejected, and therefore we do not think that Bock is right in calling Modrzewski a Socinian; vide his History of Socinianism.

* "*Me sæpe in rebus duris consilio et oratione suâ juvit et erexit,*" says Melancthon of Modrzewski. Vide Boch. Hist. Socinian.

† The principal works of Modrzewski are: 1. "*De homicidiis,*" four Speeches.—2. "*De utráque specie Eucharistiæ a Laicis sumenda, Pragæ* 1549."—3. "*De republicâ emendandâ, libri quinque;*" viz. 1mo. '*de Moribus.*'—2do. '*de Legibus.*'—3tio. '*de*

He was abused by the Roman Catholic writers,

'de Bello.'—4to. *'de Ecclesia.'*—5to. *'de Schola.'*—The last book is decidedly anti-Roman. Cracow, 1551. Basil, 1554 and 1559. The edition of Cracow contains not the book *de Schola*. It was translated into German, French, and Spanish.—4. "*De legatis ad consilium mittendis*" (according to Bock, Cracow 1546). It was dedicated to John Tarnowski, to whom the author says: "*in duris temporibus meis hospitium præbueris.*" It is the most anti-Roman of all Modrzewski's works, and it excited much anger from the Roman Catholics.—5. "*De Ecclesia, liber secundus,*" dedicated to Pope Paul the Fourth, with an evident irony.—6. A treatise against the enactment of 1543, which gave exclusively to the nobles the right of possessing landed property, published under the name of Philatetes.—7. "*De mediatore, libri tres,*" dedicated to the reformed Synods of Vodzislav and Xionz, as well as to Stanislav Stadnicki and Hieronymus Ossolinski, two grandees following the same persuasion, in 1560; he leans in that work to the opinions of Stancari.—8. Three books on the Sin, on the Free-will, and on Predestination, in 1563.—9. On the means of making war against the Infidels. The archiepiscopal library of Lambeth possesses a Spanish translation in manuscript of that work, which was sent to the King of England by the translator, John Justiniani of Padua.—10. "*Sylvæ quatuor;*" the first and second of them dedicated to the king, in December 1565; the third to Pope Pius the Fifth, in June 1568; the fourth to James Uchanski, archbishop of Gniezno and primate of Poland, in June 1569: all the four were published at Racow in 1592. This work was written by the express order of king Sigismund Augustus, who had charged Modrzewski to give him an account of the state of religious parties in Poland. It savours strongly of a philosophical indifference about the principal dogmas of the Christian religion, an indifference which seems to have been shared by his royal master, and which accounts for the vacillating conduct which Sigismund Augustus held in respect to the religious parties

and also praised by some of them ;* but he gained a universal approbation from the Protestants,† and the general respect of the most eminent scholars of Europe. Sigismund Augustus constantly recurred to his advice ; and although he occupied only the subordinate station of a royal

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parties which agitated his dominions. The above-mentioned work is exceedingly rare, but the archiepiscopal library of Lambeth possesses a copy of it. "*Narratio simplex rei novæ et ejusdem pessimi exempli, Pinczow* 1561." It contains the account of his differenes with Orzechowski.

*Lippomani says: "*Soleo Librum Fricii aliquando legere ; video virum bonum esse et doctum, sed illud non laudo quod scripserit contra confessionem Petricoviensem.*" We have already mentioned that creed ; but the work alluded to by Lippomani seems to have been lost, and we quote the words of Lippomani from Modrzewski himself—"*Andreas Modrevius nefariis dogmatibus imbutus infectabat ecclesiæ partes. Scripsit nihilominus egregium de moribus libellum ; itemque allium de legibus in quo ingentem facundiæ suæ vim et ingenii vires declaravit. Scripserat et de scholâ atque ecclesiâ ; sed quia hacce erroribus resperserat, ideo a probis et piis contempti periere cum sonitu sicuti et alia ejus scripta, his exceptis in quibus nullam religionis mentionem fecit.*" Starowolski Scriptorum Polonorum, page 77.

† Modrzewski himself quotes the following letter addressed to him by John Justiniani : "*Nullum opus supra mille annos exisse in lucem præclarius : a condito urbe nullum aliud vel veterum vel recentiorum simile illi hactenus editum esse. Me evangelicorum omnium ferè acutissimum et doctissimum—tanti te facio et scripta tua Frici, ut ne syllabam quidem interire velim. Tanti ego omnia et feci hactenus et etiamnum facio, ut nullo cujusquam præjudicio illa mihi vilescere patiar.* Vide Modrzewski's *Sylva III.* : it was written in 1555.

secretary, he directed the most important affairs of the state. He was employed in many embassies; as, for instance, to Brunswick, Denmark, Prussia, to king Ferdinand, and to the emperor Charles the Vth.

It was but natural that an individual of such talent, learning, and influence as Modrzewski, was sought to be enrolled as a partisan by the church of Rome, and that he was much detested by the same church for having rejected its offers. The Roman Catholic clergy were particularly alarmed by the views which Modrzewski developed in his dissertation on the church, and of which we shall hereafter amply speak. The popes Paul the IVth and Pius the Vth excommunicated Modrzewski, and enjoined to the Polish clergy to prosecute him as a heretic. But as the ecclesiastical censures produced then very little effect in Poland, the clergy sought for a champion who should be able to cope with such a powerful enemy as Modrzewski was. They found him in Orzechowski, to whom they promised a full pardon of his past errors, and many advantages, if he would attack Modrzewski. Orzechowski displayed on that occasion a great meanness of character, having not only accepted he proposition of assailing his former friend,*

* Modrzewski had dedicated his work on the Eucharist to *Stanislao Orichovio Rutheno amico suo.*

but chiefly, by taking advantage of the confidential conversations which he had formerly had with Modrzewski on religious subjects. He accused him before an ecclesiastical tribunal, insisting that if Modrzewski would not publicly recant those opinions, he should be declared a convicted heretic. The accusation produced, however, no consequences, as the tribunal, daring not to judge such an influential man as Modrzewski, who, moreover, had not seceded from the Roman church by any overt act, evaded the cognizance of a cause, which could have no other result than to widen the breach which separated Modrzewski from the Roman clergy. The chief object against whom Orzechowski vented his rage, when he became the champion of the Roman Catholic church, was the Italian Stancari,* a

Stancari, principal object of the attacks of Orzechowski.

* Stancari, or Stancar, was born at Mantua in 1501 : we know very little about his fortunes in Italy. Tiraboschi says, that he published in Italy in 1525, a Hebrew grammar ; and states, on Gerdensius' authority, that he composed, in his native country, a treatise on the Reformation, in Italian, which was printed at Basil 1547, and dedicated to the magistrates of Venice. Tiraboschi thinks that it was during his residence at the *terra de Spilinbergo*, in Friul, where he was, about the time of the publication of the above-mentioned work, professor of Hebrew. (Vide Tiraboschi's *Storia della Litteratura Italiana*, vol. vii. part ii. p. 368.) M'Crie, who quotes the above-mentioned passage of Tiraboschi, states also that Stancari took a part in the dissensions which agitated the Protestant Italian church at Chiavenna, and that in 1547 he was obliged to flee from Augsburg

native of Mantua, who was called to Cracow as a professor of Hebrew. We have already mentioned that, having publicly attacked the worship of saints, and manifested other Protestant opinions, he was imprisoned; but being released by the influence of some nobles professing the same religious opinions as himself, he retired to Pinczow, where he induced Olesnicki, the lord of that place, to set the first example of introducing the reformed worship, instead of the Roman Catholic service. He went afterwards for some time to Königsberg, where he engaged in a dispute with Osiander* about the mediation

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Augsburg to Constance, in company with Ochino, for fear of being delivered to the emperor Charles the Vth. (Vide M'Crie's History of the Reformation in Italy, pp. 370, 382.) He arrived at Cracow about 1550, being called from Villach, in Carynthia, by the bishop of Cracow, Maciejowski, who apparently was ignorant of his Protestant opinions. We refer our readers for farther particulars about Stancari to the Historical and Critical Dictionary of Bayle, who devoted about eight pages in folio to him.

* Osiander maintained that man is justified by God's essential justice, and that Jesus Christ is our righteousness, according to his divine nature; but Stancari asserted, that Jesus Christ is our mediator according to his human nature only. It is said that he borrowed that doctrine from Peter Lombard, for whom he had such a veneration, that he was used to say, "Peter Lombard alone is worth one hundred Luthers, two hundred Melancthons, three hundred Bullingers, four hundred Martyrs, five hundred Calvins, who, if they were all pounded together in a mortar, would not produce one ounce of sound divinity."

of Jesus Christ. Having visited Hungary and Transylvania, in order to promote the cause of reformation in those countries, he returned again to Poland. He published the rules for organizing the Polish churches,* which he wrote on the in vitation of some Protestant noblemen of Poland,† and dedicated to king Sigismund Augustus. When Stancari returned to Poland, the church of Pinczow began to agitate those questions which have led to the anti-Trinitarian doctrines, and produced a sect hostile to all reli-

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divinity." A pretty specimen of the polemical style of that time. Vide Bayle.

* They appeared at Francfort-on-the-Maine, under the title of *Canones Reformationis Ecclesiarum Poloniæ*, fifty canons. We know them only by Orzechowski's work, "Chimera," written against Stancari, and published at Cologne 1563.

† He says in his dedication to the king: "*A quibusdam nobilibus tuis piis legitime vocatus fui, ut ecclesias reformarem, ut in illis puram Christi doctrinam pro falso, ac veram religionis pietatem pro impio cultu idolatricorum restituerem, mores ac disciplinam tam cleri quam populorum corrigerem. Episcopi abominandam idolatriam defendant, falsam doctrinam docent, bonis ecclesiarum abutuntur, corrigi nolunt cum sciant, si res ad judicium delata esset, se causam suam tueri non posse, illico ad majestatem tuam accusarunt, et nobiles illos et me cum quibusdam piis ministris seditionis auctores, rerum novarum amatores, unde non cognita causa omnes condemnati sumus ac negotium reformationis imperfectum.*" The condemnation of Stancari and his fellow ministers is not mentioned by any author, and we have extracted that passage from the above-mentioned work of Orzechowski, "Chimera," &c. Vide Bayle, article "Orichovius et Stancar."

gious revelation. These dangerous questions were however agitated at that time with great caution, and no overt attack on the mystery of the Trinity had as yet been made. Stancari hastened considerably, although without intention, the development of the anti-Trinitarian opinions, by putting forward the dogma, that the mediation of Jesus Christ was made only according to his human nature. This raised a violent dispute, in which the divines of Geneva took a decided part against Stancari, whose opinions were also condemned by the reformed synods of Xionz and Sandomir, which sentenced his works to be burnt. Stancari retired to Stobnitza, where he died in 1574, having left a family, whose descendants still continue in Poland, bearing the name of Stancari, and professing the reformed religion.

The rules or canons of Stancari which we have mentioned, do not exhibit any new doctrine different from those that have been established by other reformers. We know them only from the work of Orzechowski, who copied those which he considered to be the most pernicious and added to them his own observations, written in a Roman Catholic sense, and replete with his characteristic scurrility. The principal of them are—The singing of the mass is an idolatry. The Eucharist is only a sign and a remembrance of the Lord's supper. The service is to be performed in the national language. The images of saints and martyrs

must not be worshipped. The ancient customs may be abolished. The episcopal office or dignity should be given only to such as are able to fulfil its duties. It is necessary to establish a school for teaching pure divinity, eloquence, languages, and logic; and the revenue of the church may be conscienciously applied to such a sacred use. The permission of the authority is not requisite for doing good. We must be obedient to the supreme ruler, Jesus Christ, but not to his vicars, who have rebelled against him. The church must convoke frequent synods and meetings. The example of the church of Pinczow, which held weekly meetings, deserves to be imitated. The ministers of religion and the teachers of schools ought to be paid from the public treasury. But the maxim for which Orzechowski particularly inveighs against Stancari is, that if the king should be opposed to the reform of the church, the nation had the right of doing it by itself,* Orzechowski attacked Stancari not by arguments founded on the scriptures or ecclesiastical authority, but with the most violent abuse, calling him by every opprobrious name that he could invent,

* Orzechowski calls this a criminal levelling of the king with the people:—"*Hunc furciferum Stancarum, ausum esse hæc verborum portenta in Poloniâ edere, vivo Rege ac Senatu: fur, latro, nebulo.*" Orzechowski seems to forget that the first Christians abandoned idolatry without the permission of the emperor and the senate.

and the extravagant ideas of Papal supremacy which he advocated in the above-mentioned work, "Chimera," made even some Roman Catholics uneasy about their effect.* It would be uninteresting to enumerate all the injurious terms which Orzechowski applied to the object of his hostility; but we shall only give a few of his general remarks on the state of the country, and which afford a fair specimen of the arguments and language of the party which he defended at that time:—

"The abominable locusts of Arians, of Macedonians, Eutychians, and Nestorians have fallen in our fields. They increase and spread over all Poland and Lithuania, through the supineness of our magistrates. An insolent mob scatters fire, destroys the churches, perverts the laws, corrupts the manners, despises the authority, and degrades the government. It will overturn the throne—destroy the state. It is much more important to defeat the heretical fury, than the Moscovite enemy."†

Orzechowski accused Stancari of destroying religion and the existing political order; of exciting the youths to dangerous innovations; of under-

* Cardinal Hosius wrote to Orzechowski:—"*Chimera tua multorum virorum doctissimorum territur manibus et eorum judicio vehementer probatur. Quam et ego legi lubens, teque de ista præclara voluntate tuendæ fidei catholicæ non possum non vehementer laudare.*" Vide Hosii Opera.

† Apud Ossolinski, tome iii. p. 422.

mining the lawful authorities; of arousing the lower against the upper classes; of flattering the mobs, by recommending the spoliation of church property; of introducing the community of goods, and abolishing private property; of introducing a perfect equality amongst all the inhabitants of the country, so that there should be neither masters nor servants. As we have no opportunity of consulting the original work of Stancari, which we doubt very much is in existence, and must therefore judge of it only by what we know from Orzechowski, we are unable to form an opinion whether Stancari had really expressed some ideas about the extension of political rights, which were exclusively possessed in Poland by the nobles, to the other classes of the community; or whether the accusation of his antagonist is nothing more than a repetition of the general outcry raised by the Roman Catholics against the reformers, that they aimed at the destruction of the established political and social order. The system which Orzechowski advocated in opposition to Stancari, as the only one by which the state could be saved from an imminent destruction, was that which the Roman Catholic Church tried everywhere to oppose to the progress of the reformation. It was that of strictly maintaining the ancient laws and customs, without allowing any religious or political innovation; to crush heresy, and to restore to the Roman Catholics

Political doctrines supported by Orzechowski after his final reconciliation with Rome.

an unlimited authority; that the clergy should be considered as the first class of the country, which directs and judges the nation, but cannot be judged itself by any one; that every temporal authority should be subject to the pope, and the king himself ought to be only the servant, the tool, and the sword of the clergy. No other, perhaps, has asserted in a more explicit and bold manner the supremacy of Rome over the monarchs of Christendom than Orzechowski, who says, "the king is established only that he should serve the clergy. The supreme pontiff alone establishes kings, and as he establishes them, he has an authority over them. The hand of a priest is the hand of Jesus Christ himself. The abolition of the archbishop of Gnezno would be followed by the abolition of the Polish crown, the overthrow of the royalty, and the fall of Poland itself. The archbishop of Gnezno is the cornerstone of the state, the first magistrate of the realm, the guardian of the public liberty; he defends the nation, and limits the power of the monarch. The authority of St. Peter cannot be subject to any other, but is superior to all; it pays neither tribute nor taxes. The mission of the priest is superior to that of the king. The king is the subject of the clergy; the king is nothing without the priest. The pope has the right of depriving the king of his crown. The priest serves the altar, but the king

serves the priest, and is only his armed minister. The king of Poland is the servant of the priests, and is established that no one should dare to rise against the ecclesiastical authority." Orzechowski, who maintained that there could be no knowledge of God beyond the pale of the domination of the pope,* represented the state in the form of a triangle, the top of which was held by the clergy, and the body was constituted by the king and the nobles. The remainder of the nation was nothing, and the author only recommended to the nobles to govern the people with a paternal rule. Such were the opinions publicly broached by the very man who, a short time before, attacked with an unbridled virulence the same church to which he attempted now to give such a decided supremacy over the state.

The opinions about the supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal authorities, which Orzechowski, pushed by the vehemence of his ungovernable passions, proclaimed without any disguise, must have a considerable value in the eyes of every reflecting reader, because they may be considered as a faithful exposition of the principles by which the world would have been governed, if the Roman Catholic church had succeeded in crushing its adversaries. Orze-

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* "*Deum perdidisti, qui extra papatum neque scitur neque cognoscitur.*"—Vide "Chimeræ."

chowski did nothing but proclaim the opinions which were entertained by the Roman Catholic church: and the greatest luminary of that church in Poland, Cardinal Hosius, of whom we shall have ample opportunity of speaking, gave his unqualified approbation* to the propositions of Orzechowski, who perfectly well expressed how little the interests of the Roman clergy were connected with those of the country, having the impudence to declare that it was much better to abandon the realm to the Moscovites than to heretics. These wishes have been alas, realized! Protestantism was crushed in Poland, and the Moscovite domination is established!

This dangerous ally could not, however, restore the lost influence of the Roman Catholic church

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* Hosius wrote to Orzechowski, "*Nihil est triangulo tuo verius, nam ubi non est altare neque sacerdos, ibi neque Regnum legitimum cognosco, dubium non est.*" There is no doubt that by *sacerdos* is meant only a Roman priest, as the same Hosius says: "*me vides assiduum, acrem atque acerbum, hæreticorum in Polonia adversarium.*" (ann. 1563. Hosii Opera.) According to such a doctrine, only Roman Catholic civil authorities are legitimate. The doctrine of the supremacy of the Pope over the monarchs of Christendom has been defended in our days to the same extent as it was done by Orzechowski, but in a more refined style, by authors of first-rate talent, as the Count Desmaistre (vide his Soirées de S. Pétersbourg: du Pape;) and by the l'Abbé de Lamennais, who, having been the defender of despotism and popery, afterwards changed his opinions to another extreme, with a versatility equal to that of Orzechowski.

in Poland, whose condition, according to the confession of its most zealous defenders, was at that time quite desperate * Nothing remained to that superannuated establishment, but carefully

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* Many Roman Catholic writers attest the desperate condition in which their church was placed at that time in Poland :—for instance, Piasecki, a Roman Catholic bishop, says : "*Senatus regni jam majori parte constabat ex hæreticis.*"—"*Vix non major pars senatûs, maxima etiam equestri ordinis novas de religione sententias sequebatur.*"—Heidenstein. "*Illis temporibus res catholicorum ferè deplorata erat, cum in amplissimo senatu vix unus atque alter, præter episcopos, qui se insanis molitionibus opponerent, reperiebatur.*"—Cichocki Colloquia Osiecensia. "*Ita ea lues invaluerat, ut senatus, quidem major pars ex hæreticis constaret, idem inter equestrem ordinem, non quidem numero, sed ad quavis functiones obeundas dexteritate eminerent, primasque et in privatis et in publicis conciliis ac conventibus sibi partes vindicarent.*" Lubienski de gerendo Episcopatu. "*Cum interea tales (Calviniani) vel ipsis Lutheranis tam detestabiles in senatu regio prima loca propemodum obtineant et præ-cetæris apud majestatem regiam gratiâ et authoritate valere, dicuntur.*" Hosius, Epistolæ Clarorum virorum. Rome itself despaired of retaining Poland under its domination, as it is manifest from the evidence of a papal writer: "*Hæresim ipsam jam inter aliquos ex vestris (Episcopis) Poloniæ ita irrepere, ac cæteras omnes ita perturbare cœpisse, ut nulla spes apud nos, præter quam in Deo ipso atque in hac sancta sede relicta esse videatur.*"—Raynaldus, anno 1555-6. "*Malum non parum auctum et corroboratum esse intelleximus, ne natio illa universa corrumpatur, atque in id mali genus facile incidat, quod aut nunquam, aut raro sanari possit.*" Ibidem. "*Potentes familiæ diversas hæreses amplexæ omnibus nervis et machinis ecclesiasticum ordinem impetebant, ne Episcopi jurisdictione sua in profligandis hæresibus et puniendis impiis uterentur.*"—Bzovius, ad ann. 1555. Such was the religious

to avoid every commotion by which its edifice, already shaken by the hostile attacks of the growing Protestantism, would fall to pieces. To remain stationary amidst the intellectual movement of the time, and to avoid every change in its organization, was the line of policy which it adopted, and which was, perhaps, the only one which it could follow for some time.

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gious state of Poland during the middle of the sixteenth century, according to the evidence of the Roman Catholic writers which we have quoted; we may therefore credit the statement of the anti-Romanist writers, that at the accession of Sigismund the Third there were, besides the bishops, only seven Roman Catholics in the Polish senate, and even less in that of Lithuania, (vide Wengierski, and *Vindiciæ Unitariorum apud Sandius.* The state of the Roman Catholic clergy in Poland at that time is described by one of the most zealous defenders of their cause, Cardinal Hosius, quoted in the following words: "*Quo majore sumus reprehensione digni, quod Dei regno posthabito quod inter nos est, Sathanæ potius regnum quærimus: ac verbo quidem ut adveniat nobis regnum Christi quærimus, re vero ipsum Sathanam in nobis regnare volumus. Dolenter dico, omnes prope derelicto regno Dei, Sathanæ regnum quærimus, multum nos ab officii nostri religione declinare, neque alii fere rei quam cogerendis opibus avide inhiare. Solo nomine spirituales, re vero ipsa plus quam carnales, plus quam seculares, nos esse conspiciant. Nomen Dei per nos blasphemetur: pleros a fide nostra Christiana propter mores nostros impuros discessere. Recessimus de via, scandalisemus plurimos, nihil mirum st, si dedit nos Deus contemptibiles.*" Epistola x. 1556. The same author says of a clergyman who had offices at the court: "*Solet aula Deum sic colere, ne diabolum offendat.*"

CHAPTER IV.

COUNCIL OF TRENT, AND ATTEMPTS AT THE CONVOCATION OF A GENERAL NATIONAL SYNOD.

Poland, although still apparently Roman Catholic, under the reign of Sigismund the First, evinced a strong and general desire to have the abuses of the church reformed by a general council, where all the sects which divided Christianity should be freely represented, considering, with great justice, such a council as the only means of pacifying the disturbed church. The king was particularly anxious to restore by the above-mentioned means the peace of his own country, where the Protestant doctrines were making rapid progress; and he recalled the delegates which he had commissioned to the Council of Trent, when it was transferred to Bologna in March 1547, because the deputies of the Protestants could not safely go to the last-mentioned place. It would be foreign to our immediate subject to expatiate on the obstacles that Rome, being taught by the experience of the councils of Constance and

Basil, which had destroyed its omnipotence, threw into the way of the convocation of an independent general council. The Polish clergy, however, threatened by an imminent danger from the rapid increase of the Protestants, were very anxious for the convocation of such a council. This opinion was also much supported by the leading reformers and by the most enlightened part of the nation, who, although very favourable to the doctrines of the reformation, were afraid of the violent commotions which its introduction had caused in many parts of Europe. Nicolas Dzierzgowski, archbishop of Gnezno, and primate of Poland, whom we have already mentioned as a zealous Roman Catholic, and who would have employed the most severe measures against the Protestants if it had been in his power to do so, addressed a letter to Pope Paul the Third, in 1547, in the name of the synod of his province, in which he represented to him, in a submissive but decided manner, the necessity of a council in which all the opinions should obtain a hearing; a demand which, it is superfluous to add, was not acceded to.*

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* The letter alluded to expresses, in a cautious but clear manner, the necessity of admitting the deputies of a bordering country, *id est*, of Protestant Germany. "*Sermones quorundam audiebantur, quorum non parva est in hoc regno authoritas, nequaquam se recepturos, sique per nostros e concilio allata forent, nisi illa a finitimis quoque nobis populis recepta essent.*" The same letter states the danger of the church in Poland: "*Nostris cervicibus*

Under the reign of Sigismund Augustus, when the influence of Protestantism became powerful in Poland, very many entertained the fond but delusive hope that it would be possible to reform the Roman Catholic church, instead of separating from it. It was this opinion which directed, at the diet of 1552, the choice of the deputies to be sent to the council of Trent. They were John Drohojowski, bishop of Vladislav, and James Uchanski, bishop of Chelm, two prelates whose Protestant opinions were well known Stanislas Tenczynski ,castellan of Leopol and Modrzewski, was to be the secretary of the legation, and direct all its operations.* It was

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cervicibus gravissima pericula impendere videntur : tollantur fidei et religionis dissidia, a quibus nostra provincia non esse prorsus immunis videtur, quod si scire posset sanctitas vestra, quis est nunc rerum nostrarum status, quantum nobis propter vicinum malum metuendum sit." The fear seemed to make the synod forgetful of the infallibility of the Pope : *" Neque enim insolitum, gubernatores in magnibus tempestatibus a vectoribus admoneri."*—Letter of the archbishop of Gnezno in the name of the synod of Lowicz, 1547, to Pope Paul the IIId., Hosii Opera. Raynaldus, ad an. 1547, f. 85.

* At the synod of Piotrkow in 1557, the 17th May, Drohojowski and Uchanski *" moniti fuerunt a sede apostolicâ de suspectis in ecclesia dogmatibus.* (Vide Starowolski, *Epitome Concilior.*) Both those bishops were suspected of leaning to the doctrines of Calvin. (Uchanski.) *"Tanta odiorum mole gravatus a sui ordinis hominibus propter ipsius pietatem raramque libertatem qua in comitiis suis utitur, ut sublatum cupiunt, venenoque tollendum judicent, ne quid amplius dicam,"* says Utenhovius, a contemporary

on that occasion that Modrzewski explained to the king the necessity of reforming the church, and the extent to which such a reformation should be carried. His proposals were of the most decisive nature, and could not be adopted without entirely destroying the whole structure of the Roman Catholic church. As they represent the opinion of many of the most enlightened persons of that time in Poland, we shall give our readers a summary exposition of them:

"Religion is no longer secretly discussed, as it formerly was, but publicly debated in the national assemblies," says Modrzewski, addressing the monarch. "We are now generally abandoning the doctrines of the church, which had hitherto been received, and we have assumed the right of establishing a religion. You resign to a general council the cognizance of such an important matter. Inspired by heaven, you have desisted from making use of your own authority and arbitrary power. The council must give to every one full liberty of speech, for we wish to be instructed and enlightened. We shall not permit our convictions to be silenced by human authority. Men ought to be convinced by the word

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porary writer, apud Triccsii *de Evangelii origine in Polonia*. The Pope wrote to the king of Poland in 1556 about Uchanski, describing him as "*maxima hæresis infamia laborantem.*" Such were the delegates whom the Polish diet had chosen for the Council of Trent.

of God, and by argument, but not by persecution and bloodshed. What has created the dissentions in the church? The corruption of manners and discipline; neglect of the laws; the perversion of the doctrines and of the ceremonies. The ancient and real Christians have disappeared, as well as the primitive purity and sanctity of the church. The first preachers of the Gospel were not numerous; they were poor, not endowed with large estates, and being presecuted they converted the world. Now there is none who will preserve the truth of the doctrine and of the ceremonies established by Jesus Christ and the Apostles, and the consequence of that is a general and extreme corruption. Those who have possessed themselves of the lucrative dignities of the church have engaged in unworthy occupations. They have become fond of merry revels; of rich dresses, precious stones, and large retinues. All their time is devoted to play and hunting. They have become enamoured of comfort, ease, and luxury. What is now the intellectual authority of the clergy? The greatest part of them are ignorant of the scriptures; some are given up to atheism; they deride every thing that is holy. They have ceased to believe in religion; they have rejected doctrines, and neglected actions prescribed by God. They have appropriated to themselves villages, towns, castles, tithes, enormous incomes, and richly endowed states.

They have founded their supremacy upon money, upon worldly connexions and assistance, and upon a luxurious life. They wish to rule only by force; and in order to maintain their authority, they have elevated their church, contrary to the precepts of Christ. They have appropriated to themselves exclusively the name of the church, and imposed on the people of God their laws and restrictions. But no religious community can be durable and maintain its unity, if its doctrines and actions are not founded on the pure word of God. It is therefore necessary that the laymen should be also admitted to the discussion about the principle of faith, because, as *Gerson* says: 'The council is the assembly of all the states of the church, and excludes none who believe. Theprinciple of faith must be decided by all, in order that they should know what is to be believed. Is it not a duty of the community to investigate whether its pastor expounds a falsified doctrine, and to avoid false prophets, and the perversity of the Pharisees?'

"The general council will restore peace to Christendom, but it must be independent and properly composed. It will abolish the profligacy of the clergy, and the abuses of the popular authority. On the synod every man and every party must have an uncontrolled liberty of speech, even against existing order and established customs, because the church

never has been and is not now infallible. Being a human assembly, it could err, it has erred, and it may still err.

"The bishops should convoke the clergy and the population of their dioceses. They must not restrict by any ancient laws the deliberations of the Christian people. Every member of the church must expose his conviction. Faith, being common to all the members of the church, must be determined by them all, or by an assembly of all the faithful. The church itself should statute the rules of belief. The general council must learn from the synods of the dioceses the convictions of the Christians, and according to that it must form its decisions. The population of the dioceses ought to choose their delegates for the deliberations of the general council; such a council alone will truly and legally represent the universal Christian church. Christians of every denomination must be without any difference represented at that council. The Armenians, Greeks, and other sects, are they not also Christians? The Latin church alone is not a complete church, and it will not restore by itself unity to Christendom, when all its sections are not duly represented.

"The general council should not be composed exclusively of bishops. Why should the laymen, who form a part of the church, be prohibited from judging matters relating to their own sal-

vation? A bishop does not possess the necessary qualification for defining the doctrines by the mere fact of his being a bishop. The only titles which give authority to decide on that important matter are learning and virtue. The direction of the council must be entrusted to virtuous and learned men, and not to such as have nothing to recommend them but office.

"It is not true that the bishops alone have the power of expounding the Gospel. All those who have retained only the name and the income of a bishop, without possessing his moral qualifications, should retire from the council. It is impossible to renew the ancient custom of setting up fire and sword against truth and conscience. Formerly the nations were kept in subjection by the bishops, and obeyed all their commands. They were insulted without daring to complain, and even addressed thanks for the injuries they had received. It is therefore just and right to eject from the church the pride and despotism of its rulers. The government of the church must be entrusted neither to one nor to all, but to the most learned and virtuous, even if they were not invested with the sacerdotal dignity. Every church and its people will send their representatives to the council, because the people have also their just griefs against the clergy and against their rulers. It is indeed a very preposterous regulation, which deprives of influence and office even

the most enlightened men, if they do not belong to the class of the nobles; all members of the community should have equal rights. All the rulers of the church have been infected by an unpardonable pride and luxury. The people have been despised, and the poor entirely neglected; although only a madman could suppose that God has created mankind for the use of its rulers. The council will choose the judges who are to determine a universal creed; no difference of religious opinion must exclude from that mission, because the reformers and antagonists of Rome are also Christians. If the Pope was infallible, and superior to the council and to all the churches of Christendom, of what use would it be to convoke a council? It is well known that they have erred against faith; and Pope Adrian himself acknowledged, in 1522, that the church and its dignitaries were in the utmost state of corruption. How can a guilty clergy, being accused, decide against themselves, abolish their own profitable usurpation, and destroy their own authority?

"The renovation of the church must be entrusted to the church itself, *i. e.* to all Christendom, to all believers. How did the church till now answer to all the pious complaints against its corruption? By persecution and cruelties. The mind cannot be changed but by argument, because religion is but a spirit.

"The present mode of administering the church must be changed. One person should not possess several dignities, which ought to be granted only to virtue and ability. The church must not feed idlers with its riches. One clergyman is sufficient for one church. The rule over the people must be entrusted to intellectual superiority, and not to that of birth or fortune. The kingdom of Christ must be supported by the same means by which it was raised. The disciples of our Saviour, without being either rich or noble, have converted mankind. In our country, the nobles invested with the dignities of the church enjoy their possessions, but have no learning. They consider it a mean occupation to devote themselves to intellectual pursuits, and have left to their inferiors the duty of teaching. They occupy the first places, and govern, although birth without merit is nothing. But if the nobles have appropriated to themselves the dignities and the riches of the church, they ought also to fulfil the duties, to teach, to prophetize, and to tend the flock of Christ; but they have accepted only the enjoyments, and they have rejected the duties. Such abuses are highly injurious to religion as well as to the state. The people, contemned and degraded, lose the sense of their own dignity; the ruling class, being corrupted, attach little value to the fulfilment of the duties of a Christian magistrate. We try by oaths and documents the test of nobility,

which is an innovation unknown to our ancestors,* and we do not even ask about virtue and learning. This leads to pride and luxury, which degrade the sanctity of religion; it is therefore necessary to introduce another system. Those who are adorned by virtues are real nobles, if even they were of the meanest origin; they are fit to possess all the dignities of the nobles, because they have all that constitutes a real nobility; but now, when all the cathedrals of the church are exclusively occupied by nobles, it is even dangerous to propose that the dignities of the church should be granted without any regard to birth. The exclusion of the lower classes from preferment is indeed the greatest abuse and injustice.

"A bishop should be elected by all the faithful of the diocese in the following manner:—Every class, the magistrates, the nobles, the burghers, and the peasants (for it is unjust to exclude the peasants from a share in the public affairs), should choose each three representatives; the clergy will also send twelve of its members. These twenty-four delegates will take an oath before the deputy of the monarch, that they will elect only such as are qualified by their virtues, learning, and sanc-

* This alludes to the preposterous enactment of 1515, which excluded all those who did not belong to noble families from preferment to the higher dignities of the church.

tity of life, and that their choice will not be influenced by any worldly motives; and they must act accordingly. All the clergy should be equalized, because the superiority of the bishops was established only by custom, and not by Jesus Christ, who did not grant priority to any of the apostles. Such a system will restore to the church its purity and independence, and will pacify its troubles. In order to restore peace to the church, and establish a unity of faith and discipline over all Christendom, it is not sufficient to write sentences, to promulgate decrees, to judge and excommunicate. The church and the Christian people do not exist for the use of the king and of the bishops; on the contrary, the kings were established for the benefit of the people, and the bishops for that of the church. The kings must therefore watch over the advantages of the children of God, but they must leave to the church itself the election of the bishops, whom they actually nominate themselves,* because no authority has the right despotically to rule the church.

"The dignity of the Pope, which maintains the unity of the church, ought to be retained; but the mode of his election should be totally changed, because otherwise despotism and an unbridled passion of power will never be expelled from the

* We have already stated, in the first part of this work, that the kings of Poland nominated the bishops.

church. The Pope must not be elected either by one nation, or by one church, or by one section of the Christian community, as it is now done: the Pope, being the chief of all Christians, must be elected by all Christendom; every nation must have an equal right and equal influence in his election. A hierarchy is necessary, in order to maintain a unity amongst all the members of the church of Christ; but not a hierarchy of superiority. Each clergyman possessing an equal mission to teach, to baptize, to perform sacrifice, to bind and to unbind, there is no difference in that respect between the most inferior clergyman and the Pope himself. Such a hierarchy has not been authorized by Christ, it has not been ordered by the Gospels, it has not been established by the primitive church; it would therefore perhaps be more expedient to abolish episcopacy, and that the Pope should preside over the rulers of the churches.

"The Pope should retain only such attributes of his authority as are useful and indispensable for the benefit of the church: he should execute the laws, and watch over the maintenance of discipline; but he must not have judicial authority over the churches. Each nation should have its own independent church, and its own independent and final jurisdiction, that they may not appeal to Rome. The Pope cannot be infallible, and must be subject to the council, which truly represents the whole of

Christendom. The Pope must have nothing to do with the political relations of different states. The Papal see being the centre of the Christian unity, may be established any where. The Pope will be elected only for a year, and never for his life-time. A frequent change of Popes will not destroy the unity of the Papacy. If the Pope would resume the ancient abuses, he will be checked by the council, which is to assemble every two years. Each province of a synod will nominate two persons, who will by turns occupy the Papal see. Every Pope will be judged after the termination of his office by his successor, who will strictly investigate his conduct, and punish him if he is found guilty. The council will nominate the Pope's ministers, who cannot be dismissed by him. Papacy circumscribed within such limits, will fulfil its mission much better than it does now.*

"Every separate church should have its prophets, evangelists, pastors, and presbyters; but the office of teaching is not to be exclusively vested in the presbyters.

"Every one may speak, prophetize, and investigate divine subjects, when he feels that he has an interior vocation to do it. Every church should choose its own government and autho-

* Modrzewski was excommunicated particularly on account of his proposition to submit the Pope to the council, and the council to the whole of Christendom.

rities. If the congregation was able to elect the best qualified, the present condition of the church would be much improved by it ; places destined to teachers and apostles would not be then given to nobles, who occupy now every dignity, whether they be able or not to fulfil its duties, provided they have a coat of arms. The duty of the evangelist should be to preach, to instruct, and to expound the Gospels ; that of the pastors should be to administer sacraments, to watch over the morals of the congregation, and to inflict spiritual penalties on those who lead a vicious life. The actual pastors have forgotten their real duties ; they are fit only to shear the wool of their flock, but not to watch over its welfare. The dignity of the bishop, which was formerly equal to that of the presbyter, has now changed its primitive destination, and perverted its real duties. The bishops have thrown on the parish priests all the burdens of their vocation, and retained only the riches and honours attached to it : they enjoy the possession of villages and towns, of small and great tithes ; they only occupy prominent places in the councils of the state, but the care of souls, and that of religious instruction, they consider a subject of minor importance, leaving them to some inferior and insignificant persons. The scriptures must be the only rule of faith, because they are sure and true, unerring and unable to err, comprehending the chief and indispensable

principles of salvation. The word of God must be placed above the church, and above all authority that has been created. That which cannot be conceived by human reason, must, however, be believed. Tradition being a human explication, cannot be binding: the church could not finally decide how the holy writ should be understood and explained. The scriptures should be explained by the scriptures themselves; the places whose meaning is uncertain should be explained by such passages the sense of which is clear and certain. The church being founded on the scriptures, cannot develop or modify its own origin by introducing things which have not been authorized by Jesus Christ, and were unknown to the first disciples. The church preserves only the word of God, but has no right to its arbitrary explication. Augustinus himself acknowledged that the Gospel alone was infallible, and he founded on it his arguments. He acknowledged the authority of the synods and Fathers, but he placed them below the precepts of Jesus Christ himself.

"The discussion about the real meaning of the Eucharist is unnecessary, and more fit to disturb than to edify the church of God. It is much better to believe the words of God, which express that we receive his body and blood, than to begin subtile researches about the nature of receiving them: it is rather necessary to avoid

such questions, as being unfit to give any comfort or hope to the troubled spirit. It is quite sufficient for our salvation to believe that we are receiving the body and blood of our Saviour with the lips of the spirit, and not with those of the body. The communion of two kinds should be administered to all Christian people. The auricular confession which is established by the Roman church is not injurious; but it is very doubtful whether it may be considered as a sacrament, and as a condition necessary for our salvation, and therefore it ought not to be made obligatory. Confession serves to give a better knowledge of religion to those who are ignorant; it enlightens the consciences of men, and strengthens the discipline of the church. The worship of the saints should be limited. Eminent persons deserve respect during their life-time, and a pious remembrance after their death; but can the mediation of saints be of any use? But, although neither the Old or the New Testament have even recommended the worship of saints, as mediators between man and God, no person's liberty in that respect should be circumscribed. The baptism of infants is allowable, and the promise of their godfathers is necessary; but the baptized children must, on becoming adults, confirm their baptism by taking a solemn obligation of respecting and following the precepts of the Gospel. Matrimony should be allowed

to the priests, and the worship should be performed in the national language."

Such were the principal ideas about the reform of the church which Modrzewski proposed to the king, and which represent the opinions entertained on that important subject by many enlightened persons in Poland.* The administration of the church which he proposed to introduce was evidently modelled after the political institutions of Poland, where the greatest part of public offices were elective.

The chief objection to his plan was its utter impracticability, and it could be no more applied to the spiritual government of Christendom, than the Utopia of Sir Thomas More could be adapted to its political affairs. There is also a chilling spirit of indifference, in discussing some important matters, incompatible with that energy of action indispensable to the introduction of important reforms either in church or state; an energy which is derived only from an intimate conviction of the principles we

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* "*Ea pro ingenii meo facultate, multorum consiliis in suffragium adhibitis ostendi,*" says Modrzewski. The Roman Catholic clergy strongly dissuaded the publication of those ideas : "*non nulli verentur ne operis nostri editione aliquid religioni vulnus infligeretur; nihil novi nos unquam molitos ne quidquam in re Christiana definire voluisse, sed ea proposuisse quæ in divinis scripturis et apud probatissimos scriptores legerentur.*"

are advocating, but which may be possessed only by a true believer, and will never be the lot of those philosophical dabblers in religion and politics, who are generally as timid in action as they are bold in speculation. The work of Modrzewski is, however, very precious, on account of its giving a fair idea of the opinions which prevailed in the council of Sigismund Augustus, and in the mind of that monarch. It is perhaps by these vacillating opinions on religious matters that the conduct of Sigismund Augustus may be explained, and why that monarch, although evidently leaning to the Protestant doctrines, had not openly abandoned the Roman Catholic church.

These principles which we have now developed, however impracticable, would have certainly produced an extraordinary sensation on the council of Trent, being presented by a deputation ostensibly Roman Catholic. The intended legation did not, however, take place, as the treaty of Passau in 1552, and soon afterwards the abdication of Charles the Fifth, suspended for some time the operations of the above-mentioned council.

The dangers which threatened the Roman Catholic church in Poland meanwhile grew every day more pressing. The Protestant synod of Kozmin of 1555 effected a union between the Bohemian Brethren and the Genevese church of Poland, by which a considerable strength was added to the Protestant party. The Roman Catholic church,

having no longer the right of punishing heretics, felt its weakness, and was not adverse to a national synod, which would introduce considerable reforms into the church, provided it would preserve its fundamental doctrines and hierarchy.* The king, instead of giving any material assistance to the Roman clergy, advised them to defend their cause by argument, notby force.† Francis Krasinski, who, in spite of having been a pupil of Melancthon, possessed the dignity of the archdeacon of Calish, and who afterwards, when bishop of Cracow, excited a strong suspicion of heresy, made some representations

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* Protestant opinions, or at least the necessity of a reform, seem to have been working in the minds of many bishops at that time. "*Omnimodo anni terentur episcopos senatu movere, qui jam conversatione sæcularium alliati, graviter in religione nutare cæperunt hercticis, connibant et connivebant, et nonnulli prorsus jam ad Lutheranismum discederunt perniciosis eorum dogmatibus pertracti ;*" 1555, Janocki. Stanislaus Karnkowski, who became afterwards archbishop of Gnezno, expounded, in 1550, when bishop of Cujavia, to his brother, to Modrzewski, and several other friends, the letter of St. Paul to the Galatians in a manner contrary to the Roman Catholic dogma: "*Mirabar novum dogma de Christo et hominum credentium in ipso justificatione ;*" apud Wengierski.

† The king addressed Hosius in the following words : "*Hæc ratio plurimum probatur, prius ut homines doceuntur, quam aliquid in eos durius consulatur. Et vellem ut ferre (sic) synodus provincialis, ad quem vocarentur etiam sectarii.*" Hosii Epistolæ, 73.

to that effect in 1555-6, which were couched in language of a rather doubtful orthodoxy. Dzierzgowski, archbishop of Gnezno, wished also to convoke a national independent synod, in order to pacify the religious dissensions in Poland. It is impossible positively to assert whether the Roman Catholic clergy of Poland had any true intentions of introducing into the doctrine and discipline of their church some real reforms, and whether they intended to grant a hearing to the demands of their antagonists; there are, however, some good reasons for supposing that the abovementioned intentions were entertained, at least by a part of the clergy, as the project of such a synod awakened the fears of the Roman see and of some of its most zealous adherents.*

There were indeed good reasons for the Pope to oppose a similar measure, because the convocation of a purely Roman Catholic synod would have been of no use whatever in arresting the progress of the Reformation, whilst a synod, to the deliberations of which the Protestants were admitted, would undoubtedly lead to the overthrow of Romanism in Poland. It was therefore natural and consequent that Rome refused to grant its assent to the convocation of a national

* Hosius declared that he would never join the intended synod, knowing that heretics would be admitted at its deliberations.

Polish synod, promising to settle the affairs of the Polish church at a general council. Indeed, the wisest policy that Romanism could then adopt in Poland was to remain in a state of immobility, because an attempt at amending the corrupted state of its church would lead to the total dissolution of its rotten frame, whilst the Protestant party, full of vigour and energy, naturally burned to come into collision with its superannuated antagonist.

The Diet of 1552 had expressed a wish to see the differences which had arisen between the established church and a great part of the nation settled by the convocation of a national synod. The violent discussions which occupied the Diet on the subject of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction postponed for some time that important question, which was again revived at the Diet of Piotrkow in 1555. The chamber of nuncios, or house of commons, represented to the king the necessity of convoking a national synod, composed of all religious parties, which, being presided over by the king himself, should reform the church by adopting the Holy Scriptures as the only basis of that reform. Not only were the representatives of all the religious sects of Poland to be admitted to the deliberations of that synod, on equal terms with the Roman Catholic clergy, but it was even proposed to invite the most eminent reformers of Europe, such as Calvin, Beza, Melancthon, and

Vergerius, who was at that time in Poland.* But the greatest hopes for introducing a reformation of the established church were placed on John Laski, or Alasco. As this eminent individual has taken such a prominent part in advancing the great work of reformation in this country as well as in his own, we shall devote the following chapter to a sketch of his life and labours.

CHAPTER V.

SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND LABOURS OF JOHN LASKI OR ALASCO.

Birth and parentage of Laski.

THE family of Laski ranks among the noblest in Poland, and is remarkable for having produced during the sixteenth century many eminent individuals, who have rendered their names illustrious in the church, in the council, and in the camp. John Laski, archbishop of Gnezno, primate of the realm and legate of the Roman see, distinguished himself as grand chancellor of Poland, in having been the first who collected all the laws of that

* Vide Wengierski, Friese's Beyträge zur Reformations Geschichte in Polen, vol. ii.

country. His collection, published in 1506, was confirmed by the king and the Diet, and it is well known under the name of the Statutes of Laski.* Having been sent by Sigismund the First to the council of Lateran in 1513, he obtained from Pope Leo the Tenth, for himself and his successors, the archbishops of Gnezno, the title and privileges of *Legati nati apostolicæ sedis.* Although himself not a learned man, he was a great patron and promoter of learning. He made himself conspicuous also by being chiefly instrumental in the enactment of that preposterous law by which the non-nobles were excluded from preferment to the higher dignities of the church. Laski was much opposed to the nascent reformation, against which he proclaimed many decrees. His Roman Catholic orthodoxy did not, however, prevent him from zealously assisting the cause of John Zapolya, king of Hungary, against Ferdinand of Austria. The cause of Zapolya was eagerly promoted by Jaroslaf, or Hieroslaus Laski, nephew of the archbishop, who was an avowed Protestant. The archbishop furnished his nephew with money and other necessary means for promoting his designs against the Austrians, and it was he who advised him to seek the assistance of Soliman the Great, emperor of Turkey, against that power.

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* Its title is:—*Commune Poloniæ Regni Privilegium, Constitutionum, et Indaltuum,* 1506; Cracow, in folio.

Ferdinand of Austria complained to Pope Clement the Seventh of the intrigues of the archbishop, and presented proofs of his having advised to call in the Turks against Austria. The Pope excommunicated the archbishop, calling him in his bull an arch-devil; but Laski contrived by some means to set aside that bull, and remained in undisturbed possession of his dignity until his death, 19th May 1531.* Jaroslaf Laski, nephew to the archbishop, palatine of Sieradz, was certainly one of the most remarkable men of the sixteenth century, by his great talents, by his relations with the most eminent individuals of his time, and by the prominent part which he took in several great events. After the death of Lewis Jaguellon, king of Hungary, killed at the battle of Mohac in 1525, the national party elected monarch John Zapolya, wojewode of Transylvania ;who was, however, unable to maintain his ground against Ferdinand of Austria, elected by an opposite party, and supported by all the power of his brother, the emperor Charles V. Zapolya was obliged to retire to Poland, where king Sigismund the First granted him a free asylum, but no assistance against his enemy. It

* We have extracted these details from Friese's Beyträge zur Reformations Geschichte in Polen, vol. ii. page 274, who gives them on the authority of Peter Toniecki's, (bishop of Cracow,) *Epistolæ* tome viii., and the *Acta literaria Regni Poloniæ*, 1535, tome ii. pages 17, 18.

was there that Jaroslaf Laski proposed to Zapolya the daring project, which, as we have already said, had been suggested by his uncle, to arm Soliman against the Germans, and to defend the liberties of Hungary with the swords of the Mussulmans. It is supposed that king Sigismund the First, who could not be favourable to the extension of the Austrian power, which was enslaving Hungary and Bohemia, so recently possessed by his family, secretly countenanced that project. Zapolya gave unlimited powers to Laski, and promised him the sovereignty of Transylvania. Laski arrived at Constantinople on the 20th December 1527, and his negociations were so successful, that two months afterwards, on the 20th February 1528, a treaty of alliance against Austria was signed, and soon afterwards the forces of the Ottoman empire were in full march to open a campaign, which is particularly memorable on account of the siege of Vienna, and the expulsion of the Austrians from Hungary.*

* The fortunes of that celebrated individual are no longer connected with those of his brother John, who is the subject of our present chapter, since the nomination of the latter to the bishopric of Wesprin; we shall, therefore, only briefly mention the most important circumstances of his eventful life. After the establishment of Zapolya on the throne of Hungary, Laski naturally enjoyed the high favour of that monarch, and was entrusted with the most important offices. He acted as his ambassador at Cracow in 1530, in France in 1531, and at the Germanic

The high hopes of elevation which the family of Laski had conceived at that time were frustrated by subsequent events; but Jaroslav, who

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Germanic Diet in 1532. Zapolya, however, forgot what he owed to Laski, or perhaps he could not bear to owe him so much. Laski was accused of dangerous machinations, and arrested, although treated with every consideration due to his high rank in the castle where he was confined. The Polish senate remonstrated against the violence offered to one of its members in the person of Laski. Francis the First of France wrote also to Zapolya in his favour. Laski was at last released, chiefly by the efforts of John Tarnowski (vide note of page 168) and Andreas Tenczynski, castellan of Cracow; his innocence was solemnly proclaimed by royal letters-patent, and he received as an indemnity (or rather a mortgage for the sums he had expended for the service of Zapolya) the towns of Kesmark and Debreczyn. This transaction is described in a letter of Peter Tomicki, bishop of Cracow, addressed to Erasmus April 20, 1535. The haughty mind of Laski would not, however, be reconciled with a justice reluctantly wrung from a monarch who owed to him the throne: he left the service of Zapolya, and giving way to his resentment, he resolved to undo his own work by depriving Zapolya of the Hungarian crown. He repaired, therefore, to his antagonist Ferdinand of Austria, who received with open arms such a valuable ally as Laski. In 1540, when Ferdinand was assembling an army for reconquering Hungary, Laski went as his ambassador to Constantinople, in order to prevent Solyman from giving assistance to Zapolya. Laski's appearance at the Ottoman court in a capacity diametrically opposed to that in which he had acted twelve years ago, excited the anger and suspicion of the Sultan, who ordered him to be imprisoned. His life was even for some time in danger: but he succeeded in disarming the Sultan's anger, and received presents as a mark of the monarch's favour. This

was at that time most influential in Hungary, provided for his brother John Laski, the subject of our present notice, in 1529, the bishopric of

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This was the last event of Laski's agitated career. He fell dangerously ill at Constantinople, and having returned to his native land in 1542, he died from the effects of this illness, which was strongly suspected to have originated from poison. Jaroslav Laski was certainly one of the most accomplished noblemen of his time, and equally skilled in all that related to war and politics, his talents and acquirements having been improved by extensive travels. Paul Jovius gives the following judgment of him: "*Ingenium suum in omni actione rerum humanarum valde mirificum, excelso solertique ingenio, gravissimarum rerum consilia agitare, atque apte terminare, solitus, belli pacisque artibus abunde instructus, noverat regum omnium ingenia, moresque gentium quum totum pene terrarum orbem regiasque percurrisset.*" (P. Jovius Historiarum Lutetiæ, 1558.) Erasmus, who extolled him with great praises, dedicated to him his little work, "*Modus orandi Deum.*" Melancthon wrote a work on Laski with which we are not acquainted, but which must have been favourable to him, considering the great regard which Melancthon entertained for his brother, John Laski, the reformer. Andreas Modrzewski introduced Jaroslav Laski as an interlocutor in his dialogue "*De Homicidiis puniendis.*" Laski has left a narrative of his embassy to Constantinople in 1527.

Stanislav Laski, brother to Jaroslav and John, rendered himself conspicuous by his long residence at the court of France, where he gained the favour of king Francis the First, who created him *eques auratus.* He accompanied that monarch to the battle of Pavia, and shared with him the misfortunes of captivity. This occurrence is described in a work entitled "*De Gallo ad Ticinum capto ad S. A. Lasco,*" which is mentioned by Janocki. Stanislav Laski returned afterwards to his own country, where he was successively invested with the

Vesprin. Laski was at that time thirty years old, being born in 1499. Having been destined from his boyhood to the ecclesiastical state, he received the best education which it was possible for his country to afford. He afterwards visited Germany, Italy, France, and Belgium, and became acquainted with many eminent scholars of that time. In 1524 he was introduced in Switzerland to Zuinglius, who sowed the first doubt in his mind about the orthodoxy of the Roman church. He spent the year 1525 with Erasmus,

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first dignities of the state. Albert Laski, son of Jaroslav, and nephew of the reformer, who was palatine of Sieradz, and afterwards that of Sendomir, chiefly contributed to the election of Henri of Valois (the third of France) to the throne of Poland, and was one of the delegates who went to France in order announce to the new monarch his elevation to the sovereignty of Poland. After the deposition of Henry, who having become king of France after the death of his brother Charles the Ninth, had secretly left Poland, Albert Laski voted for Maximilian of Austria. In 1583 he visited England, where queen Elizabeth received him with great distinction. The honours which were shown to him during his visit at Oxford, by the especial command of the queen, were equal to those rendered to sovereign princes; (vide Wood's History and Antiquities of Oxford, English translation, vol. ii. page 215-218). Having become a Roman Catholic about 1569, he promoted the schemes of Cardinal Commendoni, who was sent by the Pope to counteract in Poland the Protestant party. (Vide "Vie de Commandoni par Gratiani.") His extraordinary prodigality rendered his enormous wealth insufficient to defray his expenses, he therefore became a zealous adept in alchemy, and he took from England to Poland, with him, two known alchymists.

in whose house he lived, and with whom he was on the most intimate terms of friendship. The regard which Erasmus entertained for Laski bordered on enthusiasm.* Laski was fully alive to

Laski's connexion with Erasmus.

* Erasmus speaks of Laski, in his letters, in the following manner: "*Hic Joannes a Lasco, Polonus illustri loco natus, apud suos brevique summus futurus, moribus est plane niveis, nihil magis aureum ac gemmeum esse potest.*" (Epist. ad B. Egnatio, 5th October 1525.) "*Senex, juvenis convictu factus sum melior, ac sobrietatem, temperantiam, verecundiam, linguæ moderationem, modestiam, pudicitiam, integritatem, quam juvenis a sene discere debuerat, a juvene senex didici.*" (Epist. to J. Laski, archbishop of Gnezno, August 1527.) "*Ego vero mi Joannes, nimis impudens fuero, si juvenem summis natum rebus, et jam nunc nullo non doctrinæ genere me superiorem, patior credi me discipulum: sed tamen homo sim insigniter ingratus, si tam amantem, tam constantem, tam candidum patronum, patior oblivionis tenebris obliterari.*" (Epist. ad J. Laski, 16th June 1527.) "*Joannis a Lasco tale sum expertus ingenium, quotidieque experior, ut vel hoc uno amico videar sat beatus.*" (Epist. ad Leonardum Coxum Anglum, June 12th, 1527.) This Leonard Cox, an Englishman born, was professor of eloquence at the University of Cracow, and is particularly remarkable for having been the first who established in Poland a literary periodical, which he published under the title of *Ephemeridæ*. The generosity with which Laski contributed to the house-keeping of Erasmus is acknowledged by him in the following words, contained in a letter which he addressed to Laski in March 1526: "*Si tibi feliciter cœpit tua demigratio, clarissime comes, est profecto, cur levius doleam. Mihi sane tuus abitus, multis nominibus fuit infelix: ut enim reliqua taceam, mensibus aliquot mihi sudandum erat, ut domum hanc, tua magnificentia corruptum, ad pristinam frugalitatem revocarem. Deinde totum pene autumnum et hyemem, cum calculo mihi fuit colluctandum. His quasi parum esset, tantum*

the friendship of Erasmus, which he repaid by his esteem, and by administering to his wants with all the liberality of a Polish grandee of that

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tantum molestiarum aliunde accessit, ut facile senserim, genium meum bonum abesse," *&c.* Vide also Jortin's Life of Erasmus, vol. i. page 379. Although Laski, during his residence with Erasmus, was only twenty-six years old, he was already favourably known to the most eminent persons of Europe, as is evident from the letter of Erasmus addressed to Margaretta queen of Navarre, sister to Francis the First of France, on occasion of the defeat and capture of her royal brother, at the battle of Pavia. He speaks in that letter of those which that queen addressed to John Laski, who was then living at his house. After having enumerated several reasons for expecting a more favourable turn of affairs, he says : "*Confirmarunt hanc spem meam literæ celsitudinis tuæ, quas ad illustrem Poloniæ Baronem Joannem a Lasco miseras in Hispaniam adornans profectionem. Nam is enim in meis ædibus vivit, qui cum mihi jure amicitiæ omnia. Declarabant enim te non solum infracto animo fatorum iniquitatem, verum etiam verbis quibusdam bene ominantibus recreabant solicitudinem nostram.*" (Epist. ad Margaritam Reginam Navarræ, pridie Michaëlis 1525.) The tenor of the queen's letters, to which Erasmus alludes, shows the great regard which she entertained for Laski, to whom she seems to have expressed the feelings which actuated her mind on that trying occasion. It is very likely that Laski's acquaintance with the queen of Navarre was commenced by the instrumentality of his brother Stanislav, who, as we have already mentioned in the note of page 243, was in great favour with her brother. Laski offered afterwards a hundred pieces of gold to Frobenius and Episcopius, in order to assist them in publishing the works of Erasmus. Vide Jortin's Life of Erasmus, vol. i. page 577.

time. He purchased the library of Erasmus, but left to him its use during his life-time.*

It was from Erasmus that Laski has probably derived that great mildness and suavity by which all his proceedings, notwithstanding their strength of purpose, were characterized. Laski returned to his native land in 1526, with a strong bias for

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* The price which Laski gave Erasmus for his library was three hundred golden crowns, half of which sum was paid at the signature of the contract, and the other after Erasmus's death. The contract of the sale is couched in the following terms: "*Erasmus Roterodamus bibliothecam meam universam vendidi clarissimo Poloniæ Baroni Joanni a Lasco trecentis coronatis aureis, hac lege, ut quoad vixero, usus librorum, ex amicitiæ jure, sit illi mecum communis, proprietas solum penes illum sit perpetua; quod jus transibit etiam in illius hæredes, si, quod Deus avertat, contingat illum prius ex humanis decedere. Interim indicem librorum, velut arrobonem traditionis habet. Quidquid interim accreverit, et hoc illius erit, nisi si quos codices manuscriptos magno contigerit emere. In his, ex utriusque consensu, fiat moderatio novi contractus, duntaxat quod attinebit ad illam accessionem. In cujus rei fidem dictus Erasmus hoc chirographum mea manu descripsi, affixo peculiari annuli mei signo termino. anno* 1525, *duodecimo calendas Julius. Dimidium pretii numeratum est Basiliæ* 1525, *alterum pretii dimidium postridie Martii, an.* 1535 *persolutum est. Bonifacius Amerbachius nuncupatus incomparabilis D. Erasmi Roterodami hæres mea manu attestor, et ego Joannes a Lasco prædicta manu mea subscriptione fateor esse verum.*" (Vide Jorton's Life of Erasmus, vol. i. page 625.) Some of the books belonging to that collection were given to the library of Emden by Laski, (ibid. vol. ii. page 486.)

the doctrines of the Reformation, although he ostensibly remained in the communion of Rome. He was successively nominated canon of Gnezno, custos of Plock, and dean of Gnezno and Lowicz; he received those dignities, still entertaining the hope that it would be possible to reform the church of Rome without seceding from its obedience, and it was in accordance with that opinion that Erasmus was induced by him to present to the Polish monarch, although in a very cautious manner, the necessity of some reforms in the Roman hierarchy.*

We have already mentioned, that he was created by the influence of his brother Jaroslaf,

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* "*Utraque pars, ut habet quædam non aspernanda, ita mixti sunt etiam illis, qui sub ecclesiæ vexillis militare videntur, quos apparet victoriam, Christo debitam ad se rapturos, nisi summorum principum auctoritas, et illorum insanos tumultos coercerat et rapinam prohibeat. Ita fieri potest ut ex hoc amaro pharmaco, quo torquetur mundus, aliquid bonæ sanitatis consequatur, ac victoria cedat non hominibus, sed ecclesiæ principi Christo cui debetur omnis gloria: qui fortassis, ideo passus est has rerum humanarum procellas incidere, ut quosdam mundanæ prosperitatis abundantia velut ebrios, ad Christianæ mentis sobrietatem expergefaceret.*" (Ep. ad Sigismundum Reg. Poloniæ, May 1527.) He positively says, at the beginning of this letter, that he had been encouraged to address the Polish monarch by John Laski. Erasmus says also, in a letter addressed soon afterwards to Christopher Szydlowiecki, chancellor of Poland, alluding to the foregoing epistle, "*hac de re scripsi nonnihil et inclyto Regi Poloniæ Sigismundo, jam semel atque iterum ornatissimi juvenis, Joannis a Lasco litteris provocatus.*"

in 1529, bishop of Vesprin in Hungary, and he was nominated in 1536, bishop of Cujavia, and there is no doubt that the influence of his family, united with his own merit, would have raised him to the first dignities of the Polish church: but, seeing at last no hope of the church of Rome effecting its own reformation, he resolved on leaving his country in order to devote himself with more freedom and effect to the cause of the Reformation. It seems that he had communicated his intentions to the monarch, who perhaps afraid of the disturbances which the secession from the Roman church of such an eminent individual as John Laski might have caused, in a country where the Protestant party was still very weak, afforded to him an honourable pretext for going abroad. Laski left Poland in 1537, invested as it seems with a diplomatical character, but we know not the precise nature of his appointment.*

He leaves his country in order to devote himself more effectually to the cause of the Reformation.

We are unable to ascertain whither Laski went on leaving Poland; we only know that having

* Bullinger calls Laski, in 1544, "*Regis Poloniæ Legatus.*" ("Scrinium antiquarium," vol. iv. page 446.) Laski himself says, in the dedication to Sigismund Augustus of his 'Account of the Foreign Church,' that he left Poland with the consent of his monarch. But Pellican wrote to Laski in 1544, "*Intellexeram te exulem ab Evangeliam,*" apud Gabbema. Ossolinski says that Laski was deprived of his dignities and exiled: but this was done only when he publicly declared his opinions by marrying a wife.

He publicly embraces the reformed religion,

publicly declared his adherence to the Protestant church, such as it was established by the Reformers of Switzerland, he married a wife at Mayence, in 1540, having sacrified the splendid prospects of preferment which he would have obtained had he remained in the pale of the Roman church.* His marriage, which completed in a most decisive manner his separation from Rome, naturally excited against him the violent hatred of the Roman clergy, who having excommunicated Laski as a professed heretic, attempted to calumniate him at the court of Brabant. Till 1540, Laski seems not to have been engaged in any public ministry: but his extensive and diversified information, his upright character, and the friendly intercourse which he maintained with the first scholars of his time, acquired for him a great reputation amongst the Protestant princes, who sought to attract him to their states. Enno, count of East Friesland, who had shortly before his death resolved on introducing a complete reformation of the church in his states, which had been in some degree commenced as early as in 1528, proposed to Laski to accomplish that im-

and settles in Friesland, where he is entrusted with the organization of the churches.

* Laski says himself; "*Eram pridem insignis phariseus multis ornatus titulis, multis et opulentis sacerdotiis a puero adhuc pulchre suffarcinatus* 1544. *Bonus Deus me mihi restituit, atque ad veram sui cognitionem e medio pharisaismo tandem evocavit.*" 1545, Scrinium antiquarium, vol. viii.

portant work. Laski, who had settled at Emden, capital of Friesland, refused for some time to accept the supreme direction of the churches of that principality. The death of Count Enno, in 1540, suspended the negociation on that subject; but Enno's sister Anna, sovereign princess of Friesland, insisted that Laski should undertake the organization of the churches in her dominions. Laski hesitated for a long time to accept that important commission, pointing out his friend Hardenberg as a fit person for the accomplishment of such a task; till at last, induced by the general supplications of the senate and people of Emden, he accepted the proffered charge in 1543, and was nominated the following year superintendent of all the churches of Friesland. The difficulties which he had to encounter, in completing the great work of Reformation in that principality, were indeed very great, as he was obliged to struggle against the marked reluctance to the entire abolition of Romanist rites, many of which were still retained by the churches of that country; against the corruption of the clergy; and above all, against the lukewarmness in religious matters with which many persons were infected. The uncompromising zeal of the Polish reformer, and his perseverance, unshaken by any disappointment, succeeded, after six years of hard struggle, in weeding out completely the remnants of Roman superstition, and in fully establishing the Protes-

tant religion. During that period, interrupted by some intervals, in which Laski, disgusted by the obstacles which were continually thrown in his way, had been obliged to resign his office, he abolished the worship of images; introduced an improved order of hierarchy and church discipline; established a pure scriptural mode of receiving communion, and of explaining its meaning; and determined a confession of faith, so that he may be considered as the real founder of the Protestant church of Friesland.*

The reputation of Laski induced many Protestant princes and churches to claim his assistance, and to request his advice. Albert Veden, archbishop of Cologne, and the duke of Hessen, frequently consulted him on many ecclesiastical affairs. Albert, duke of Prussia, proposed to Laski the supreme direction of the ecclesiastical affairs of his dominions; but Laski set up as a condition the complete independence of the church from the temporal power, or its entire separation from the state. He was, moreover,

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* Laski himself describes the difficulties with which he had to deal in Friesland: "*Ego enim nulli sciens et valens paream. Principem mihi faventem habeo, quæ ut est pia plane et Christiana fœmina ita me ne deseram rogat. His vero aulicis nihil minus cordi est, quam religio, et sine legibus vivere assueti, ne nomen quidem disciplinæ ferunt. Me hic diu non esse mansurum, neque enim puto istos laturos meam reprehensionem, multominus disciplinam.*"—1544, Bibl. Bremensis.

exceedingly adverse to the Roman Catholic rites which were still retained by the Lutheran church. These circumstances rendered impossible the acceptation of duke Albert's proposition, and the negotiation was dropped on both sides.* It was then that Laski drew up his confession, which he gave as the standard of faith to the churches of Friesland. He communicated it to many eminent reformers, as Melancthon, Bucer, Bullinger, Pellican, and Hardenberg. This confession, which maintained the same doctrine about the communion that has been adopted by the reformers of Switzerland and the Anglican church, raised a violent indignation amongst the Lutherans. The divines of Brunswick, Hamburg, and Bremen attacked Laski in the most abusive and coarse manner, which he answered in a tone of Christian charity and meekness, opposing argument to the low abuse of the Lutheran divines.

During his residence at Emden, Laski was frequently obliged to engage in polemical discussion with many of those wild sectarians who infested Germany in the sixteenth century. The

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* "*Quoniam sim migraturus nondum scio, sed vocor a multis.* 1541. *Vocor quidem et magnis precibus a Prussiæ duce homine pio, et nobis jamdudum addicto.*" His good opinion about the duke of Prussia did not however last long, as he says afterwards of Prussia, "*Summam illic esse barbariem et Luthero Papismum.*" Lutheranism preserved, indeed, a great many remnants of Romanism.

celebrated Menno Simonis* preached his doctrines in the midst of Emden. Laski invited him to a friendly discussion, which was accepted, but did not produce any effect. The sect of David Georgis violently agitated Emden at that time. Laski had many theological discussions with that sectarian, but when all his efforts to convert them remained fruitless, the authorities of Emden ordered David Georgis and his followers to leave the town. The constant difficulties with which Laski had to struggle, in promoting his great work in Friesland, compelled him to resign, in 1546, the supreme direction of the ecclesiastical affairs of that country, and to limit his activity to the office of a simple minister of a church at Emden. He perceived with great pain that a marked leaning to Lutheranism was beginning to prevail amongst the inhabitants of Friesland. A clergyman of the name of Lemmius was the chief promoter of that party, which rapidly increasing, loudly manifested the project of calling Melancthon, in order to establish

* Menno was born in Friesland in 1496, and was ordained a Roman Catholic priest in 1524. He embraced the opinions of the Anabaptists in 1536, and is the founder of the sect of Mennonites, who are a branch of the Anabaptists, and are distinguished by their great morality. Menno died in 1561, in Holstein, and left many works of a polemical and mystic nature ; a collection of them was published in Amsterdam, 1600, 1646, 1681.

Lutheran worship, instead of that which had been introduced by Laski. At the same time he received a most flattering invitation from the archbishop Cranmer to join the many eminent reformers who were then called to England in order to complete the reformation of its church.* The above-mentioned invitation was chiefly made by the influence of Peter Martyr and Turner, the second of whom particularly recommended Laski to the Protector Somerset, who wrote also himself on that occasion to the Polish reformer.

Laski is invited by Cranmer to assist him in reforming the church of England.

Although Laski had still a strong party in Friesland, and enjoyed the favour of the sovereign princess, who was very reluctant to part with him, and was induced only by the pressing demands of the English court to grant him leave of absence, he resolved on accepting the invitation of Cranmer.

Being, however, uncertain as to the real prin- His first visit to England.

* "*Joanne A. Lasco amico suo carissimo. Cupimus nostris ecclesiis veram de Deo proponere doctrinam, nec volumus cothurnum facere, aut ambiguitatibus ludere, sed remota omni prudentia carnis, veram perspicuam, sacrarum litterarum normæ, convenientem doctrinæ formam ad posteros transmittere, ad perficiendam rem tantam, eruditorum hominum presentia nobis opus esse judicavimus, qui collatis nobiscum judiciis doctrinæ controversias tollant et integrum corpus veræ doctrinæ extruant. Accerivimus igitur et te et alios quosdam doctos viros qui cum ad nos venirent, ita ut nullum ferre ex iis præter et Melancthonem desideremus; summopere te rogamus ut et ipse ad nos venias. T. Cantuariensis Londini.* July 4, 1548 apud Gabbema.

ciples on which the reformation of the English church was to be effected, he resolved to make, previously, only a temporary visit to England, in order to become thoroughly acquainted with the projects of the English reformers. He therefore took a temporary leave of the congregation over which he presided as a minister, and having received an authorization to that effect from his monarch, he repaired to England, where he arrived in September 1548, after having crossed Brabant and other Roman Catholic countries in disguise. A residence of six months at Lambeth with the archbishop Cranmer, established an intimate friendship between these two eminent reformers, who entirely coincided in their views on the reformation of the church in point of doctrine, as well as in that of hierarchy and church discipline. Laski wrote from Windsor to his congregation a consolatory epistle, and having left England in company with an ambassador, he arrived at Emben, where he found the affairs of his congregation in a very dangerous state, as is evident from the letter which he addressed from the above-mentioned town to Sir William Cecil, on the 9th April 1549.* He visited Bremen, Hamburg, Dantzic, Konisgberg, and many other places. The impression which he left in England was of the most favourable nature, and Latimer

* Vide Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, page 231.

in a sermon preached before king Edward the Sixth, extolled Laski with high praises.*

The introduction of the *Interim* of 1548,† into Friesland accelerated Laski's departure from that country. He was moreover accused of political intrigues, and that the object of his journey to England was to arrange an alliance between the kings of Poland and England, against the emperor. The falsehood of this accusation was proved by a letter which Sigismund

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* Latimer also made way for his reception, and in one of his sermons before king Edward, made honourable mention of him, using an argument proper for that audience, *viz.* how much it would tend to the bringing down God's blessing on the realm, to receive him and such pious exiles as he. "John A. Lasco was here, a great learned man, and as "they say a nobleman in his country, and is gone his way "again. If it be for lack of entertainment, the more the "pity. I could wish such men as he to be in the realm, "for the realm should prosper in receiving them. 'He that "receiveth you receiveth me,' saith Christ, and it should be "for the king's honour to receive them and to keep them." Vide Strype, page 236.

† This ordinance of Charles the Fifth, called so from being proclaimed as a temporary enactment until the affairs of the church should be settled by a general council, allowed to the Protestants of Germany only the communion of two kinds, while it compelled them to receive all the Roman tenets and rites which had been abolished. It was abrogated by the convention of Passau in 1552, and the peace of Augsburg, by which full religious liberty was conceded to the Protestants.

Augustus himself addressed to Laski on that subject, and which reached him before his departure from Emden,* which he left in October, and after having resided for some time at Bremen and Hamburg, he embarked from the last-named town, and reached England in the spring of 1550.

He returns to England, and is created superintendent of the foreign churches.

Laski was nominated the superintendent of the foreign Protestant congregation established at London. It was composed of French, Germans, and Italians, who found both asylum and liberal support from the English Government. The congregation received the church of Austin Friars, and a charter conferring on them all the rights of a corporation. The object of such a congregation was very important, and proves the enlightened zeal and the extensive views of Cranmer, as it might easily have become the seed of reformation in those countries whence its members were obliged to flee. The nomination of Laski, given by Edward VI. 24th July 1550, was couched in the most flattering terms.† We will

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* Vide Friese, vol. i. page 282.

† "*Voluimus præterea quod Johannes A Lasco natione Polonus, homo propter integritatem et innocentiam vitæ, ac morum et singularem eruditionem valdè celebris, sit primus et modernus superintendens dictæ ecclesiæ; et quod Gualterus Doloemus, Martinus Flandrus, Franciscus Riverius, Richardus Gallus, sint quatuor primi et moderni ministri. Damus præterea et concedimus præfatis, superintendenti et ministris et successoribus suis facultatem, auctoritatem, et licentiam, post mortem vel*

give the description of A. Lasco's residence in London in the very words of Cranmer's biographer Strype (quem vide, page 234). "It was but a little after the king had received this congregation of foreigners into England, and had granted them a church, *viz.* St. Augustine's, that a great contest happened among them about their church, yielded them for their religious worship." This Peter Martyr took notice of with grief to Bucer, and adds, that their minds were so implacable to one another, that the difference was fain to be referred to the Privy Council to make an end of. But not to leave our superintendent yet.

A Lasco, with his strangers, being settled in London, and incorporated by the king's patents, being their chief pastor and a stirring-man, was very industrious to procure and maintain the liberties and benefits of his church. The members thereof had planted themselves chiefly at St. Katherine's and in Great and Little Southwark. Here they were now and then called

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vel vacationem alicujus ministri predicatorum de tempore in tempus eligendi, nominandi, et surrogandi aliam personam habilem et idoneam in locum suum; ita tamen quod persona sic nominatus et electus præsentetur et sistatur coram nobis, heredibus vel successoribus nostris, et per nos hæredes vel successores nostros instituantur in ministerium prædictum." Vide Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. page 204, of the Collection of the Records.

upon, by the churchwardens of their respective parishes, to resort to their parish churches; though the ministers themselves did not appear in it. In the month of November, anno 1552, some of these strangers inhabiting the parts of Southwark were again troubled by their churchwardens, and threatened with imprisonment unless they would come to church. Whereupon the superintendent, A Lasco, applied himself to the Lord Chancellor, who was then Goodrich, bishop of Ely. By the way, one might inquire why he resorted not rather to his friend and patron, the archbishop of Canterbury? But the reason may soon be guessed; namely, that after the fall of Somerset, the archbishop's good friend, he came not so often to court or transacted business there unless sent for, knowing his interest likewise to be but little with the duke of Northumberland, who now bore all the sway, and who had a jealous eye of him, as he had of all Somerset's friends. And so the archbishop might rather have hindered than forwarded A Lasco's business if he had appeared in it. But this *en passant*. The Chancellor gently received A Lasco, and dismissing him, sent him to Secretary Cecyl with this message, to get him to propound the business the next day in the afternoon at the council board, when himself should be there: promising him likewise that he would be assis-

tant to him in procuring him a warrant in writing to be directed to all ministers and churchwardens of the parishes of Southwark and St. Catherine, that for the time to come the strangers of this congregation should receive no molestation in that regard any more.

" Accordingly A Lasco next morning sent one of the elders of the church to Cecyl with his letter, excusing himself that he came not, being grievously afflicted with a pain in his head. Therein he acquainted him with the sum of his conference with the Lord Chancellor, adding that the obtaining such a warrant would be necessary for them to produce and show, to such as at that present did annoy them, and to be hereafter kept by the church, that they might not be forced at other times, upon the like occasion, to create new trouble to the king's council or himself, in suing for new warrants of that nature; meaning hereby to put the secretary upon drawing this up the more formally and substantially. And so entreating him to hear what the elder had to say and to despatch him, he took his leave."

The superintendency of A Lasco seemed to extend not only to this particular congregation of Germans, but over all the other churches of foreigners set up in London, as also over their schools of learning and education; they were all subject to his inspection, and within his juris-

diction. And Melancthon, in an epistle to him in the month of September 1551, speaks of the purity of doctrine in his churches. His condition now as to worldly circumstances began to be so good, that he was able to relieve and succour such learned foreigners as should retire hither; for when one Nicholas Forst, a learned and grave man, who had lived long in the university of Louvain and had spent some time with Melancthon, was minded for the sake of religion to convey himself into England, he recommended him earnestly to the superintendent as a person fit to teach in his churches and schools: and that he would friendly entertain him as an exile for the same cause himself was, and find him some little nest to remain in. Nay, and the said Melancthon himself had some thoughts of sheltering himself under A Lasco here, as appears by the fore-mentioned letter, wherein he styles him his patron; for the superscription of his letter is this: "*Illustri Magnifico ac Reverendo Viro, Nobilitate generis, Virtute et Sapientiâ præstanti Domino Johanni A. Lasco, Patrono suo colendo.*"— So much of deference and honour did learned and pious men then use to give him. In this letter Melancthon told him that the calamities were great, and that he himself expected banishment, and might probably in a short time arrive where he was. And in respect of his hospitable reception of strangers, he told him that he be-

lieved he did often remember the saying of the exiled queen:

"*Haud ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco.*"

Burnett accuses Laski, that, being a foreigner, he intermeddled with the affairs of the English church,* by giving his opinions about some points of the discipline and ritual of that church. But we ask every unprejudiced reader whether it was blame or praise that Laski deserved, when having been called to this country purposely for the object of co-operating in the great work of the reformation of its church,† he openly declared what he conscientiously believed to be right? Many others in his place, would perhaps have abstained from giving utterance to sentiments opposed to those which were entertained by the men on whom their worldly interests were depending, instead of maintaining, as Laski did, their principles at the risk of losing the favour of their friends. We suppose that Burnett, who only slightly touches on the residence of Laski in England, was ignorant of his having been

* "But A. Lasco did not carry himself with that decency that became a stranger who was so kindly received, for he wrote against the orders of this church, both in the manner of its habits and about the posture in the sacrament, being for sitting rather than kneeling."—Vide *Burnet's History of the Reformation.*

† Vide Cranmer's letter to Laski, July 4, 1548, note in page 255.

invited to this country as a reformer, and that he believed him to have been only the chief of the Protestant refugees, and that otherwise he would not have proffered against him such an unjust accusation.

The frankness with which Laski expressed his opinions about different ecclesiastical matters did not injure the estimation is which he was held by the English Government, because, according to the same Burnett, he was nominated one of the divines who formed part of the commission appointed on the6th October 1551, for the reformation of the ecclesiastical law.*

The demise of Edward the Sixth, and the accession of queen Mary, intercepted the progress of the Reformation in England; but the violent reaction in favour of Romanism was not extended to the foreign church, the members of which were permitted to leave the country without molestation. Laski embarked on the 15th September 1553, at Gravesend, on board two Danish vessels, with 175 individuals, who resolved to follow their pastor and to share his fate.

Laski is obliged to leave England with his congregation.

A storm scattered the little fleet which bore from England the pious wanderers, and the ship

They suffer persecution from the Lu-

* These divines were Taylor, Cox, Parker, Latimer, Cook, Peter Martyr, Cheek, John A Lasco.—Vide Burnett's History of the Reformation, vol. iii. page 208, edition 1715. We must add that Laski promoted by his exertions the printing of the Common Prayer Book in French.

in which Laski was embarked entered the port Elsinore, in Denmark. The king granted him a favourable audience, and refused not a hospitable reception to the pilgrims; but Noviomagus, the chaplain of the king, a zealous Lutheran, succeeded in changing the mind of the monarch. He violently attacked the reformed church in a sermon at which Laski was present, being invited by the king. Laski deeply felt that mean breach ofh ospitality committed by the Lutheran clergy, who did not limit their persecution to such a despicable proceeding as to insult a person in misfortune; they proposed to him to abandon what they called his heresy; and the apology for his creed which Laski presented to the king did not soften the *odium theologicum* of the Danish clergy, whom Laski justly calls "*Rigidi fidei Lutheranæ exactores.*" Having abandoned Romanism in a very imperfect manner, they seemed to have retained, with many superstitions of that church, its spirit of persecution. Westphalus, a Lutheran divine, called the wandering church of Laski the martyrs of the devil; and Bugenhagius, another divine of the same communion, declared that they should not be considered as Christians.*

therans in Denmark and in some parts of Germany.

* "*Quotidie experior Lutheranos et judicio superiore et charitate atque ideo humanitate vacuos, accelerare sibi justum Domini judicium: perpessi sumus et dissimulavimus eorum barbaram duritiem. Librum J. Westphali hominis crassi accepi. Dominus ignoscat huic et reliquis plane ineptis Lutheranis.*" (Bullinger 1554, apud Baggema

The congregation of Laski received the intimation that the king would rather suffer Papists than them in his dominions, and they were obliged to embark, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season; the children of Laski alone were permitted to remain till the return of more favourable weather. The same hatred of the Lutherans persecuted the congregation of Laski at Hamburg, Lubeck, and Rostock; and the Lutheran ministers, in whose minds divinity seemed to have stifled Christianity, refused even to listen to them, condemning their doctrine without a hearing. Dantzic gave an asylum to the remnants of the unfortunate congregation, and Laski himself, who

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Baggema.) Vergerius describes this Westphalus as a "*homo ineptus et inopportunus.*" Calvinus, "*juxta ac J. A. Lasco quæsitos esse perhibet Hosius, quod Lutherus papatum non sustulerit sed se ipsum potius papam fecerit, loco lignei, ferreum imposuerit jugum.*" (Bock Hist. Antitrinitar.) "*Iste vero* (*Laski*) *quæsivit sibi hactenus locum, ubi cum suis sibi constituat singularem ecclesiam, quæ nunquam fuit Christi.*" (Bugenhagius Scrip. Antiq. vol. v. page 93.) Friese, a Lutheran writer of the eighteenth century, seems to have greatly retained the prejudices of his co-religionists of the tenth, against Laski. He accuses him, amongst other things, of having declared, when at Emden, that *Luther was an illiterate boor.* Vide his Beyträge zur Reformation Geschichte in Polen, vol. i. page 280. It is a fact that Laski was rather severe on the Lutherans, for their almost Romanist explanation of the Eucharist, as he says of them in one place, "*Idolum nobis in Sacramentis erexit Satanus, prodigiosa idolatria, magicæ præstigie.*"

retired to Emden, was received with every mark of respect and attachment by his former disciples.* He sent from Emden to the king of Denmark a severe remonstrance against the unmerited treatment he had met in his states, and he soon received an invitation from Gustavus Vasa, king of Sweden, to settle in his dominions, with a promise of full liberty of conscience to him and his congregation. Laski did not take advantage of that offer, apparently intending to settle in Friesland, where he had formerly laboured with so much advantage to the cause of the Reformation. His hopes of remaining there were, however, soon disappointed by the growing influence of Lutheranism, and the hostility of the court of Brabant, which could not bear the vicinity of such an eminent reformer. These circumstances united in rendering Laski's residence at Emden irksome, and he consequently resolved to return to his own country, where the Protestant party was in great want of such a learned and experienced leader. Notwithstanding all the efforts which the inhabitants of Emden, faithful to the founder of their church, made in order to retain him, and the offers of the reigning princess, he retired to Frankfort on the Maine, where

* "*Ita vero hic excepti sumus, ut si ad maxime necessarios venissem, amantius excepi non potuerim.*" Laski's letter, December 1553. Vide Bibl. Bremensis.

he established a church for the Belgian Protestant refugees, whose rites and confession received a full authorization from the senate of the city.

Laski maintained constantly an intercourse with many of his countrymen, about religious as well as personal affairs; he continued to enjoy the regard of his sovereign, and we have already said, that on his leaving Poland, he was entrusted by Sigismund the First with a diplomatical mission; and that Sigismund Augustus bore evidence by his own letter, against the calumnious reports spread about Laski. During his residence in England, Edward the Sixth wrote to Sigismund Augustus, representing him as a man gifted with eminent qualities, and possessing a most extensive information. Laski never lost sight of his great object, which was to promote the cause of the Reformation in his own country, as soon as a fit opportunity for action might present itself. When he engaged in his apostolical duties, in Friesland as well as in this country, it was always on the express condition that he should be able to return to his native land, as soon as its religious affairs should render his presence useful and necessary.

Efforts of Laski to unite the Protestant churches.

During his residence at Frankfort, Laski was particularly engaged in attempts at uniting the two Protestant churches, *i. e.* the Lutheran and Reformed. He was encouraged to promote that union by the letters of his sovereign, Sigismund

Augustus, who considered such an union as an important step towards an amicable settlement of the religious dissensions which agitated his kingdom, and which he had much at heart. Such an union was moreover of the greatest importance to the Protestant cause, which was much weakened by those unfortunate dissensions. Induced by such motives, Laski presented to the senate of Frankfort a memorial, where he proved that there was not sufficient cause for dividing the two Protestant churches. A discussion on that important subject, fixed for the 22d May 1556, and favoured by several German princes, was expected to produce that desideratum: but the Lutheran divine, Brentius, destroyed at once every hope of conciliation, by exacting that the followers of the Reformed church should sign the confession of Augsburg. The same Brentius tried to establish the *Ubiquitatem*, maintaining it by arguments which Laski declared to be paradoxes, unheard-of before, and which could not be supported either by the Scriptures or by the Fathers. Brentius answered the objections of Laski by calling him *Studium impostura*.* The discussion widen-

* Scrin. Antiq. vol. ii. pages 477, 542. We are sorry to say that even Melancthon, who not only professed a great admiration for Laski, but even inclined at that time to the tenets of the Swiss Reformers, which were maintained by Laski, speaks in a letter to Camerarius of the man whom he called his patron, in the following terms: "*Ille vero Sarmaticus*

ed the breach instead of effecting a reconciliation. Laski lost not, however, the hope of effecting the desired union, and in order to make a last effort, he went to Wittemberg, having been induced by the duke of Hessen to converse with Melancthon on that important subject. He was received there with great distinction, and the university wished to honour him in a public manner, which however Laski declined. He did not succeed in obtaining an official discussion on the subject in question, but Melancthon entrusted him with a letter to the king of Poland, to which he added the modified confession of Augsburg, with the promise of sending a more ample explanation of that subject, if the king should decide on establishing the Reformation in his country. Sigismund Augustus read Melancthon's letter, and believed that there was a possibility of effecting an union of the Protestant churches of Poland; an event which took place afterwards, and which we shall describe in its proper place.

Before Laski returned to his native land he published a new edition of his account of the foreign churches, which he had superintended in London, as well as after his expulsion from

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Sarmaticus, qui nihil moderate spirans, dominari ubivis voluit, ejusque reformatis fatentibus, per imprudentiam et contentiosum ingenium, non solum in Dania sed ubivis rebus suorum officit.

England; he dedicated it to his monarch, the senate, and all the states of his country, the 6th September 1555, Frankfort on the Maine.* He explained besides in a calm and dignified manner, but with strong argument, his views about the necessity of a reformation in Poland, and the motives which had induced him to reject the doctrine and hierarchy of Rome. He maintained that the gospels alone were the true foundation of religious doctrine and of the ecclesiastical discipline, and that neither tradition nor long-established custom could have any authority whatever; that even the evidence of the fathers of the church was not decisive, as they have frequently expressed opinions widely differing one from another; and that they endeavoured to establish a complete unity of faith, without ever attaining that desideratum; that the surest means of removing every doubt and uncertainty, was to investigate the doctrines and the organization

* The title of this work is: "*Forma ac Ratio tota Ecclesiastica Ministerii, in peregrinorum vero Germanorum Ecclesia instituta. Londini in Anglia per pientissimum principem Angliæ &c. Regem Eduardum ejus nominis Sextum, anno post Christum natum* 1550. *Addito ad calcem libelli privilegio suæ Majestatis, Autore Joanne A. Lasco, Poloniæ barone. Cum brevi etiam (in epistola nuncupatoria) calumniarum quarundam refutatione; quæ falso adversus ipsum in Martiniani cujusdam apud Bremen. Pastore farragine inspersæ habentur.*"

'*Vir lingua non dirigetur in terra; Virum iniquum malum venebitur ad præcipitium.*' Psalm 140.

of the primitive apostolical church: that the words of the gospel cannot be expounded and its sense extended by expressions entirely foreign to its spirit, and that councils and learned divines have in this respect made many abuses. He also stated that the Pope was raising great obstacles to the restoration of the gospel, which it was necessary to overcome, and that a very prosperous beginning to that effect had already been made; the king being not adverse to the reform which was demanded by the greatest and best part of the inhabitants of the country.* The reforms should, however, be said, be carried on with great judgment, because not every one who reasoned against Rome was necessarily orthodox. It was necessary to take care that, instead of the old tyranny, a new one should not be raised; or that, on the other hand, a too great indulgence might not give birth to atheism, to which many people seemed to have a great inclination. The dispute about the true meaning of the Eucharist being till now doubtful and indefinite, it is necessary to pray God that he may enlighten us on that important subject. However, the body and blood of our Lord are received only by faith *(a fide*

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* *"Non a ministris modo iisdemque plurimis, idem plebis multitudine, sed ab universa propemodum nobilitate, etiam virorum nobilium ordine, instauratio religionis pia, publice juxta verbum."* (*Scrin Antiquarium*, tom. iii. folio 1.)

solâ reciperunt); there is neither personal nor bodily presence in the communion. Besides this exposition of his religious principles, he added some explanations personally relating to himself; as, for instance, that he never was an exile from his country, but left it with the authorization of the late monarch; that he had fulfilled in many parts of Europe the duties of a Christian pastor; that he was a superintendent of the foreign congregation, whose doctrines and organization he proposed as a model for the reformation of the Polish church. Such an eminent character as Laski was certainly the most proper person to take the lead of the Reformation in Poland, and it was but natural that the Protestants looked to him with hope and admiration, equal to the malice and anger with which he was viewed by the Roman Catholics, who attempted to spread the foulest calumnies against him. Laski arrived in Poland in the month of December 1556; and as soon as his arrival became known, the bishops, excited by the nuncio of the Pope, Aloysius Lippomani, convoked a meeting in order to deliberate about the manner of acting against the "butcher *(carnifex)* of the church and Poland," as Zebrzydowski called Laski. They went in crowds to the king, representing to him the dangers of the arrival of such a man as Laski, who, according to their version, was an outlawed heretic, and who, being expelled from every

Laski's return to Poland, where he continues his apostolical labours.

place, returned to his native land in order to produce troubles and commotions; that he was collecting troops in order to destroy the churches of the diocese of Cracow, intending to raise a rebellion against the monarch, and to spread riots and depredations over all the country. The king was, however, very far from approving the clamour of the bishops, which produced no effect upon his mind. It was then that Lippomani advised the king to adopt the most tyrannical and unprincipled measures in order to exterminate heresy.*

Soon after his return to Poland, Laski was entrusted with the superintendence of all the reformed churches in Little Poland. The chief object of his strenuous exertions was now to unite all the Protestants into one body, and he strongly urged them to forsake several minor points of difference which divided them, in order to defend with united forces the great evangelical truths common to all their confessions. This project was much facilitated by the union which had already taken place in 1555, at the synod of Kozminek, between the reformed churches of the Bohemian Brethren.

When Laski arrived in Poland, Sigismund Augustus was at Vilna, capital of Lithuania. Being anxious to act in a decisive manner, he resolved on going to Vilna in order to induce the

* Vide next chapter.

monarch to adopt the great measures of reformation loudly demanded by the most enlightened part of the nation. This journey, which filled the Roman Catholics with dismay, did not, however, take place, for reasons which we are unable to explain.* Laski sent to the monarch an exposition of his views about the reformation of the Polish church, letters of Melancthon, and the modified Augustan confession. The king received the letters of Laski in a very favourable manner, but delayed to take any decisive steps until an union amongst the Protestants themselves should be effected.

The Italian Lismanini inflicts great injury to the cause of the reformation in Poland, by embracing anti-Trinitarian opinions.

About the same time the Italian Lismanini returned to Poland. We have already described the prominent part which he had taken in the meetings of the secret assembly of Cracow, which discussed religious subjects, and which he furnished with the new works of the reformers; we have also mentioned the dangers to which he had been exposed in 1549, by the accusations which the bishop of Cracow sent to Rome against him. These circumstances confirmed still

* Christopher Warszewicki, a Roman Catholic author of the sixteenth century, says that Laski had seen Sigismund Augustus, and conversed with him; he also states that Laski had been sent in a diplomatic capacity to Henry the Eighth between 1527-30, and that he was employed in the same capacity to the duke of Prussia about 1557. We have, however, no other authority for corroborating this statement

more his anti-Romanist opinions, although he strictly preserved the outward appearance of a Roman Catholic monk. Lismanini could have been one of the most useful promoters of the Reformation in Poland, by his free access to Sigismund Augustus, whose favour he had gained by bringing about an apparent reconciliation between his queen, Barbara Radziwill, and his royal mother. Lismanini employed, indeed, the influence which he had over the monarch in order to convert him to the doctrines of the Reformation, and he expounded to him for some time, on Wednesdays and Fridays, the *Institutes of Calvin*. The king, being anxious to know the real state of the Reformation in Germany, and other parts of Europe, in respect to its doctrines, as well as the influence which they exercised over the countries where they were prevalent, commissioned Lismanini to visit the principal parts of Europe in which Protestantism was introduced, and to give him a faithful account on the abovementioned subject. The real object of Lismanini's mission was, however, kept very secret, and he left Poland in 1553, with the ostensible purpose of making some learned investigations, and of purchasing books for the royal library. He began by visiting Italy, and remained for some time at Venice, Padua, and Milan, where he excited such a strong suspicion of heresy, that he was imprisoned, but afterwards released,

as being intrusted with the commissions of the king of Poland. From thence he proceeded to Switzerland, where he became intimate with the most eminent professors of the school of Zurich, Gualterus, Pellican, Bullinger, Gesner, &c. He afterwards visited Berne, Geneva, Lyons, and remained for some time at Paris, preserving always the outward appearance of a Roman Catholic priest. He made, every where, careful investigations on the state of religious affairs, communicating a part of his observations to king Sigismund Augustus, but reserving the most important for his return to Poland. From Paris he went to Switzerland, where, induced by the persuasions of Calvin, he publicly embraced Protestantism, and married a wife. This proceeding was very much combated by his companion and secretary, Stanislaus Budzinski, who represented to him that such a premature declaration of his Protestant opinions was very injurious to the cause of the Reformation in Poland, and that he should have preserved the Roman Catholic forms until his return to that country, as it would have given him much greater facility for accomplishing the conversion of the monarch.*

Lismanini's act was certainly impolitic, as the king, who did not wish publicly to declare his religious opinions, interrupted all intercourse with

* Budzinski became afterwards known as a Socinian writer.

him. The clergy excommunicated him, and the king, probably offended by Lismanini, who had in some measure betrayed his own views, signed an order prohibiting his entrance into Poland, and stopped the pecuniary supplies with which he had supported him. He wrote several times to the king, in order to regain his ancient favour; but neither his own letters, nor the intercessions of Calvin, Bullinger, and Beza seemed to have produced any effect on the mind of the king, who was moreover excited against Lismanini by his mother, queen Bona, who could not pardon her ancient confessor for having publicly abandoned the church of Rome. When a Protestant synod was to be convoked, in 1555, at Pinczow, Calvin wrote to the most influential Protestants in Poland, urging them to invite Lismanini as one who might prove of great use to their cause. Many eminent persons interceded in his behalf, and the departure of queen Bona, who left Poland the same year,* removed the great obstacle to his return. He arrived at Poland in June 1555, but remained for some time concealed at Ivanovitze, in the house of a noble lady called Agnes Dluski.

He wrote to Tarnowski, who promised to

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* Queen Bona left Poland in 1555 and died in 1557, at Bari (in the kingdom of Naples), which was her property, inherited from her mother, a Neapolitan princess.

employ all his interest in order to remove the decree of exile which was issued against him. The permission to remain in the country was finally granted to Lismanini, at the particular request of Bonar, castellan of Biecz, and Cruciger, superintendent of the reformed churches of Little Poland, who interceded with the king in the name of the nobles and the ministers of their confession. But, although the monarch revoked the orders which he had issued against Lismanini, he never restored him to his favour, and never granted him an audience.

Notwithstanding the loss of the favour he had enjoyed with the monarch, Lismanini might still have rendered immense services to the cause of the Reformation in Poland, by his great learning, his talents of persuasion, and the great influence which he enjoyed with many eminent persons in that country, had he remained faithful to the cause which he had publicly embraced at Geneva, and cordially united his efforts with those of Laski, in order to accomplish an union among the sects which divided the Polish Protestants, and which was a preliminary and indispensable step for ensuring the ultimate triumph of their cause in Poland. But, unfortunately, he soon began to betray anti-Trinitarian opinions. It is probable that his mind had become imbued with them as early as in 1551, when Lelio Socino having arrived in Poland,

found a hospitable reception in his house; although he concealed his real sentiments so well that Calvin, as well as the reformers of Zurich, had for some time firmly believed him to be a staunch adherent to their doctrines. He was impeached before the synod of Cracow, where his real opinions being ascertained, he was excluded from the reformed church, and soon afterwards left Poland.

He retured to Königsberg, where he terminated his life by suicide, in 1563, which he committed in a fit of insanity caused by domestic misfortunes.*

Laski, although deprived of the support of Lismanini, continued with unabated vigour his efforts to consolidate the cause of the Reformation in Poland. The united influence of his learning, moral character, and great family connexions, particularly contributed to the spread and establishment of the tenets maintained by the Swiss reformers amongst the higher classes in Poland. His great object, of which he never lost sight, was to unite all the Protestant sects in Poland, and finally to establish the reformation of all the country, entirely modelled on the plan of the Anglican church, of which he was a great admirer, and in which he continued to take an

* Lismanini was born in Corfu, and studied in Italy. He was recommended to queen Bona by some of her Italian courtiers.

active interest to the end of his life.* He took a very active part at the synods of Ivanovitze in 1557, and that of Wlodzislav in 1558, and he may be considered as having laid the foundation of the union of the Protestant confessions, which was effected after his death by the celebrated

* He (A Lasco) was alive at the accession of queen Elizabeth to the English throne; and though he came not back then to England again, whence he departed upon king Edward's death, yet, according to the great interest he had there with the most eminent persons, and even the queen herself, he neglected not by his letters to promote the Reformation, and to give his grave counsel in order thereunto. And Zanchy, public professor at Strasburg, knowing the sway he bare here, in a letter to him in the year in 1558 or 1559, excited him in these words: "*Non dubito, quin T. P. jamdudum scripserit ad reginam, eique consuluerit quæ pro illius regni conservatione et regni Christi instauratione facienda judicarit,*" &c. "That he "doubted not, he had before now written to the queen, "and given her his advice, what he judged fit to be "done for the preservation of her kingdom, and for the "restoring of the kingdom of Christ. Yet he would not "omit to pray him to do it again and again by his repeated "letters. 'For I know,' said he, 'how great your authority "is with the English, and with the queen herself. Now "certainly is the time that you, and such as you, should by "your counsels help so pious a queen, and consult for the safety "of so great a kingdom, yea, and succour the whole Christian "church, every where afflicted and vexed; for we know "that if Christ's kingdom be happily introduced into the "kingdom of England, no small aid will thence come to "all the other churches dispersed through Germany, Poland, "and other countries.'"—Vide Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, pages 238-39.

Consensus Sendomiriensis. He took also an active part in the translation of the well-known Bible of Brzesc, and published many books, the most part of which are now lost. His death, in 1560, interrupted his unwearied exertions in the great cause of the Reformation, and prevented him from putting into execution the great designs for which he was making adequate preparations; and we may suppose that, if his life had been spared, he would have accomplished them, as the Protestant author Wengierski, who possessed all the information requisite to form a judgment on that eminent character, emphatically calls him "great." He died in 1560, on the 8th January. On the whole, our information about the exertions he made after his return to Poland, in order to promote that great cause which he had advocated all his life, is very unsatisfactory, and we have much fewer details respecting that period of his life, than of the years he had spent in foreign countries. This scarcity of materials illustrative of the latter part of his life may be chiefly attributed to the careful destruction of all records relating to the Protestant doctrines and its chief promoters, which was systematically carried on by the Roman Catholic clergy, but particularly by the Jesuits. This must have been especially the case with Laski, as his descendants, having turned Romanists, have certainly endeavoured to destroy all that referred to the labours of their

ancestor, whom they naturally considered as a promoter of heresy.*

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* Laski was twice married. His first wife, a native of Louvain, died in London, in 1551. The second, named Catherine, was probably an Englishwoman; at least he married her in England. He left nine children, but we know only the names of six of them: John, Samuel, Hieronymus, Thomas, Stanislav, and Barbara. One of his daughters was married to John Morsztyn, warden of the Salines of Bochnia and Vieliczka, and another to Stanislav Lutomirski. His son Samuel served with distinction in the wars of Stephen Batory, and was sent to Sweden in 1598 by Sigismund the Third, king of Poland and Sweden, with full powers to inquire into the dissensions between the senate and Charles duke of Sudermaland, then regent of the kingdom, and afterwards king under the name of Charles the Ninth. Samuel Laski decided, on that occasion, in favour of the senate, and foresaw the intentions of Charles to appropriate to himself the crown of his nephew. In 1605, he was commissioned by the king to arrange some differences which arose at Dantzic between the Lutherans and the followers of the Helvetic church. We have already mentioned Albert Laski, nephew of the reformer, (vide page 244), and we shall have further opportunity of doing so. The family of Laski, whose immense riches were exhausted by their ambitious projects, dwindled into insignificance, and became Roman Catholic. There was a celebrated Jesuit, Martinus Laski, who persuaded the council of the city of Cracow to turn Roman Catholic, and who published many works replete with most scurrilous abuse against the Protestants; but we are unable to ascertain in what kind of relationship he stood to our reformer.

We conclude our notice about Laski with the following evidences of the high estimation in which he was held by his contemporaries.

temporaries. B. Amersbach calls (1527) Laski his patron. The celebrated philologer Beatus Rhenanus dedicated to him his edition of Pliny's Natural History, saying : "*Ausus sum summo heroi humile opusculum dicare.*" The Spanish reformer Dryander (Enzinas) expressed his admiration for Laski in the most glowing language. He says amongst others : "*insignes animi tui dotes quas pene divinas et agnosco et veneror, corporis majestatem vere heroicam, gravitatem vultus suavitate conjunctam, religionem illam stupendam ac divinam ; humanissimam morum facilitatem, liberalium omnium disciplinarum admirandam cognitionem, accuratam linguarum peritiem et copiam beatissimam, quibus omnibus divinitus donatus es præ cæteribus mortalibus* 1541." Vergerius addressed him (1555) in the following manner: "*Qualis sis, scio, quo genere, quâ autoritate, qua eruditione, qua pietate, quantum promoveris multis in locis Evangelium, utinam venisses ad me, susciperem te, summa non modo hilaritate sed veneratione.*"—Apud Gabbema.

Laski maintained a learned and friendly intercourse with many eminent persons of his own as well as foreign countries. The celebrated Polish physician Struthius, who renewed, the first amongst the moderns, the theory of pulsation, dedicated to Laski his translation of Lucian's Astrology, and he addressed to him the following expressions ; "*tu es Mæcenas meus, auctor studiorum meorum præcipuus, cui non satis visum erat me benevolente animo complecti, magnificis muneribus reficere ;*" apud Janocki.

We could adduce many other evidences of the high estimation in which Laski was held by the most eminent of his time, but we shall only add, that Orzechowski was so strongly moved by Laski that he said to him : "*Vir Dei, tibi porrigo manus.*"

CHAPTER VI.

THE PAPAL NUNCIO LIPPOMANI ARRIVES IN POLAND. ROMAN CATHOLIC SYNOD OF LOVICZ CONVOKED UNDER HIS AUSPICIES. COMMENDONI AND THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

Demands of the Polish Diet addressed to the council of Trent.

ALTHOUGH the convocation of a national synod, where all the religious parties should be represented, did not take place, the cause of the Reformation gained a signal triumph at the Diet of 1556, which enacted a law, by which every noble could introduce into his house such a mode of worship as he thought proper, provided it was based on the Scriptures. The king sent, in the name of the same Diet, a letter to Pope Paul the Fourth at the council of Trent, demanding the concession of the five following points :—

1. That mass should be performed in the national language.
2. The communion of two kinds.
3. The marriage of priests.
4. The abolition of the Annates.

5. The convocation of a national council, for the reform of abuses and the union of different sects.*

It may be easily imagined that such bold propositions created the greatest alarm at the court of Rome, whilst its most jealous defenders were fully aware of the dangerous, and almost desperate state of the Roman Catholic church† in Poland. It had already despatched to that country in the preceding year (1555) one of its most devoted tools, the well-known Aloysius Lippomani,‡ in order to save, if possible, the

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* Frise's Beyträge zu der Reformation's Geschichte, vol. i. page 258.

† Hosius requested, in 1557, the king to grant him permission to leave the country, or indeed to exile him, that he might not witness the fall of religion in Poland; and he says in one of his letters, "*Pertæsum est, quandoquidem omni humano præsidio videor esse destitutus.*"—Epist. 12.

‡ Lippomani was born about 1500, at Venice, from an ancient family, and was considered as one of the most learned Roman Catholic prelates of the sixteenth century. He occupied successively the episcopal sees of Modon, Verona, and Bergamo, and was employed by the Popes on diplomatical missions, not only in Poland, but also in Germany and Portugal. He was also one of the presidents of the council of Trent. In 1556 he became secretary to Pope Julius the Third, and died at Rome in 1559. His principal works are: 1. Commentaries in Latin on Genesis, Exodus, and the Psalms, wherein he displays more erudition than criticism. 2. *Vitæ sanctorum.* 3. *Esposizione sopra il simbolo apostolico, il patre nostro esupra i due precetti della carita,* 4. *Synodial Statutes and Sermons for the days*

Roman Catholic church from its impending ruin in Poland. The Pope despatched at the same time letters to the king, the senate, and the most influential grandees, promising that he would effect all necessary reforms, and restore the unity of the church by a general council. The fallacy of such a promise was ably exposed by Vergerius,* in a letter addressed to the king, by whom he had been called to assist at the Diet of Warsaw in 1556. "A general council," says he "will never

Arrival of Lippomani in Poland.

The fallacy of the papal promises to reform

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days of Saints, &c. Thuanus says that he was illustrious by his doctrine as well as by the innocence of his life, consequently we may suppose that it was not his personal disposition, but his character of a Roman legate, which induced him to advocate sanguinary measures against the enemies of his church. Maffei, in his *Verona Illustrata*, devotes an article to Lippomani. Vide *Biographic Universelle*, article 'Lippomani.'

* Vergerius was induced by Albert duke of Brandeburg and prince Radziwill to visit Poland, in order to promote in that country the cause of the Reformation. The Pope affirmed, and we think not unjustly, that the king was privy to this affair. Hosius wrote to the king that Vergerius, "*non ob aliam causam in regnum tuum veniat quam ut in eo seditionem conflaret.*" Vergerius wrote a commentary on the letters addressed by the Pope to Tarnowski and the senate of Poland, full of strong and fundamental arguments. Vergerius wrote also against Hosius, of whose work he says: "*prodiit furentissimus et venenatissimus Osii Episcopi Varniensis liber in quo tantum execrabilis maledicentiæ, tantum mendaciorum, tantum virulentiæ, tantum denique blasphemiarum congestum fuerit.*" For particulars about Vergerius, vide McCrie's History of the Reformation in Italy.

the church by a general council, and the dangers threatening the country from the residence of his legate, are ably exposed by Vergerius.

be convoked. The Popes constantly promised such councils, in order to prevent the convocation of national independent synods. Paul the Fourth having heard that Poland intended to reform its church of itself, had pledged himself that he would undoubtedly convoke a general synod. He strengthened his promise with the fisherman's seal, but has he kept it? No, he has made a most infamous lie.* But should even such council be convoked, it cannot produce any effect. It will be composed of the Pope, the cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and abbots; and should those people, who are accused of being atheists and epicureans, become the judges of the church? Such a council will be neither real, nor Christian, nor free. In such a case, all Christians who do not form a part of the clergy will remain aside; they will have no influence, and will be reduced to mere obedience. Poland can expect nothing from such a council. There has never been a more propitious time for shaking off the yoke imposed by Rome on the nations of the world. Never, indeed, have the states of your majesty's kingdom more unanimously expressed a desire to effect a reformation of the church. Some few excepted, all are tired of popery, and wish to be delivered of its mire."†

* *Turpissime mentitus.*

† *Nunquam enim sacræ majestatis vestræ regnum tanta omnium ordine consensione ad reformationem ecclesiarum spectavit et suspiravit*

In another part of the same epistle Vergerius speaks of Lippomani's arrival in the following manner:—"A man is now entering your realm who will destroy your wise and salutary designs; he will prevent a peaceful reformation of the church, and will disturb the kingdom; when he sees that it will be impossible to prevent the convocation of a general synod, or to enslave it, he will proclaim in the name of the Pope some insignificant concessions, in order to preserve the real and great abuses." The letter which the Pope wrote to Sigismund Augustus is full of the most bitter reproaches:—"If I am to credit the reports that reach me," says Paul the Fourth, "I must feel the most profound grief, and even doubt of your and your realm's salvation. You favour heretics, you assist at their sermons, you listen to their conversations, and you admit them to your company and board; you receive their letters and write to them. You suffer their works, sanctioned with your name, to be read and circulated. You do not forbid the heretical assemblies, conventicles, and preachings. Are you not, therefore, yourself a supporter of the rebels and antagonists of the Catholic church, because, instead of opposing, you assist them? Can there be a greater

Letter of the Pope to Sigismund Augustus, reproaching him for his inclination to the Protestants.

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suspiravit, de quo ac nunc, paucis quibusdam exceptis, omnes in summa, rerum papisticarum merito pertæsi, cupiunt se eximi ex illius sentinis." Vergerii Epist. ad Serenis Poloniæ Regem.

proof of your attachment to the heretics, when, contrary to your oath and to the laws of your country, you grant the first dignities of the state to infidels? Indeed you animate, you feed and spread heresy, by the favours you bestow on heretics. You have nominated, without waiting the confirmation of the apostolical see, the bishop of Chelm to the bishopric of Cujavia, although he is infected with the most abominable errors. The palatine of Vilna, a heretic, the defender and chief of heresy, is endowed by you with the first dignities of his country. He is chancellor of Lithuania, palatine of Vilna, the most intimate friend of the king, in private and in public, and may be considered in some measure as the co-regent of the kingdom and the second monarch. You have abolished the jurisdiction of the church, and you have allowed, by an enactment of the Diet, every one to have such preachers and such worship as he may choose. John Laski and Vergerius have arrived by your orders in this country. You have given to the inhabitants of Elbing and Dantzig an authorization to abolish the Roman Catholic religion. Should my admonition against such crimes and scandals be despised, I shall be obliged to make use of different and more powerful means. You ought to change your proceedings altogether; give no faith to those who wish you and your realm to revolt against the church, and against true re-

ligion. Execute the ordinances of your most pious ancestors. Abolish all the innovations which have been introduced into your kingdom. Restore to the church its suspended jurisdiction. Take from the heretics the churches which they have usurped. Expel the teachers who infect the country with impunity. What necessity have you to wait for a general council, when you possess ready and sufficient means to extirpate heresy? Should, however, our present admonition remain without effect, we shall be obliged to make use of those arms, which the apostolical see never employs in vain against the obstinate rebels to its authority. God is our witness, that we have not neglected any means; but as our letters, embassies, admonitions, and prayers have been without effect, we shall have recourse to the utmost severity."*

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* Vide *Raynaldus ad annum* 1556. The Pope wrote to queen Bona and to all the clergy, exhorting them to save religion; (ibid. ad 1555.) The primate and all the bishops received an order to prevent by all means the next Diet from enacting any law injurious to the church; (ibid. ad 1556.) Roman Catholic historians constantly accuse Sigismund Augustus of favouring heretics, so as to occasion the suspicion of the Pope about his orthodoxy:—"*Effuderat Sigismundus Augustus importuna benignitate ac facilitate, licentiæ habenas improbitati hæreticorum adeo, ut in suspicionem venit apud Pontificem, ne a majorum vestigiis ac pietate deflecteret.*—(Raynaldus ad an. 1559.) *Augustus cum parem patris, nec animum nec consilium in tuenda Catholica religione, hæreticis latum adytum patefecit.* (Ibid ad annum 1563.)

The Pope's letter gives a good idea of the state in which Romanism was at that time in Poland, as well as of the advance which was made by the Protestants, and of the difficulties with which the legate of the apostolical see had to contend. He had indeed a very arduous mission, and the Polish senate, principally composed of Protestants, hesitated for some time whether it should allow one who, like Lippomani, came with the avowed purpose of restoring the ancient order of religion in Poland, to enter the country. The king, who did not wish to break off already with Rome, and who does not seem to have attached a great importance to the *arrival* of the legate, made no opposition to it. The Equestrian order was, however, much alarmed at the appearance of Lippomani, and gave an injunction to many of its representatives at the Diet, that they should take particular care that the presence of the legate might not produce any injury to the state.

Effects of Lippomani's intrigues in Poland.

The arrival of Lippomani was indeed fraught with important consequences, and prevented a conciliatory approximation of the Roman Catholics with the Protestants. He re-animated the wavering courage and fainting zeal of the Roman Catholic clergy. He increased the vacillations of the king, by the assurance that the apostolical see would confirm such demands, the indispensability of which might be proved. His intrigues succeeded in fomenting discord amongst the Protestants, and by this considerably weakened their party. He neu-

tralized the activity of those moderate Reformers who continued to remain in the Roman Catholic church, expecting that a national synod would reform its abuses, by assuring them, that a general council would introduce every necessary reform into the church, a measure by which many troubles and dissensions might be avoided.*

The reception of the legate was not encouraging. He advised the king, at an audience, by what means heresy might be extirpated from his dominions. The monarch represented to the legate that the laws of the country forbade any violence and persecution: but Lippomani entreated him to seize arbitrarily the leaders of the reformed party, and to execute them in a summary manner, because the Protestants, being deprived of their heads, would then have been easily exterminated. This conversation having become public, raised a violent hatred throughout the country against the legate, who was attacked by pamphlets and caricatures, and whose life was even exposed to danger.†

He advises the king to extirpate heresy by treachery and bloodshed, and excites against himself a general hatred throughout all the country.

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* Vergerius justly condemned the advocates of those half measures:—"*Nonnullos esse qui sibi persuadeant, posse rationem inveniri, qua et verus Dei cultus, quem nos urgemus retineatur et tamen paparum obedientia non excutiatur. Ego vero affirmo quod toto cœlo errant.*" Epistola ad Serenissimum Regem Sigismundum Augustum.

† The following compositions were published against the legate: "*Christiani Liberis Veracis carmen in Aloysium Lippomanum.—Prudentis Cachinnis epigrammata de Al. Lippomano Veneto*

Some Roman Catholic writers attest, however, that he obtained from the monarch a decree against the printers and booksellers of heretical works. This decree, which had no effect whatever, and which was granted to the importunities of the legate, without attaching, as it seems, any value to it, is curious on account of the enumeration of the heresies which, according to it, at that time infested Poland. It mentions Picardians, Bohemians, Anabaptists, Sacramentarians, and Augsburgians. It prohibited to print, to sell, and to import books written against Rome; but as it neither restored the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, nor invalidated the enactment which allowed every noble such Christian worship as he might choose, it had virtually no effect.*

Vencto quod Judeos Sochaczeviæ ob violatum panem Eucharistiæ aduri jusserit." Vide infra, the account of this melancholy event. The nuncios, or deputies of the Equestrian order, welcomed him, crying, *Salve progenies viperarum.*—Lubienacki, liber ii. cap. 4.

* It was issued at Vilna the 1st March 1556. Friese, vol. i. page 262, gives the words of that ordinance on the authority of Lipski's Decad. page 121, as well as on that of the English Jesuit, Arturus, who wrote a treatise, "*de Controversiis inter Ordinem Ecclesiasticum et Sæcularem in Polonia.*" This book is exceedingly rare, but it was reprinted in some collections of ecclesiastical works. We confess we have great doubts about its truth; but if true, Sigismund Augustus must have given it only in order to get rid of the importunities of the legate, being well aware that it could not produce any effect.

Lippomani had the mortification to be present at the Diet of Warsaw, in 1556, where the above-mentioned law, which granted free exercise of religious worship, was enacted, and he was convinced that he was unable to do any thing against the Protestants. He resolved, therefore, to strenghten at least the Roman Catholic party, by removing all the misunderstandings and dissensions which disturbed the discipline of their church in Poland. It was necessary to rekindle the slackened zeal of the clergy, to amend their corrupted manners, to extirpate many abuses, and reinvigorate its relaxed discipline. To effect this object Lippomani and the archbishop Dzierzgowski convoked a synod at Lowicz in the month of September 1556. The attention of the whole country was soon drawn to that synod, and many persons expected that the clergy would of themselves introduce the necessary reforms. These hopes were not without some foundation, because there were even amongst the bishops some eloquent advocates of a reform. Indeed, the Polish church clearly saw its defects and its dangerous condition. These hopes might perhaps have been realized without the presence of the legate, because, if the synod could act in an independent manner, it would have been probably influenced by the general bent of the national opinion. An additional proof that such a supposition is not without some foundation, was

Roman Catholic synod of Lowicz.

the spirit of independence which the above-mentioned synod of Lowicz manifested at the opening of its meetings.

The synod was composed of the bishops of Cracow, Posnania, Plotzk, Przemysl, and Camieniec, who came themselves. The bishop of Chelm, on account of his illness, and the archbishop of Leopol, on account of his great age, sent deputies ; the bishops of Lithuania did the same.* Besides the bishops every chapter delegated two canons to the same synod. It seems, however, that the Roman Catholic clergy themselves did not attach any great value to that convocation, as the archbishop was obliged to compel their attendance, by threatening those who would not appear, by mulcts, and by reporting their names to the Roman see. The first meetings of the synod were marked by considerable dissensions between the higher and the lower clergy, and by the jealousy which that assembly manifested against the Roman legate. It was resolved that the legate should have no voice at the deliberations of the synod, and that he should not even be permitted to assist as a silent witness at its debates, but that he was only to receive a detailed account of the proceedings

It makes a show of independence ; which is, however, soon overcome by the intrigues of Lippomani.

* Vergerius says, that the synod of Lowicz was composed of fifteen bishops, but he gives not their names ; vide Epist. ad Sigismundum Augustum.

of every meeting. The legate rejected such a resolution, as being contrary to the laws, and without precedent. He encountered, however, a very strong opposition, and would certainly have been excluded from the deliberations of the synod, if he had not taken advantage of the dissensions which prevailed between the higher and the lower clergy. He proposed to act as umpire between the two parties, by which he necessarily obtained a voice at the deliberations of the synod; in this manner, he not only removed the opposition to his presence, but he soon acquired a complete influence over that assembly, which disappointed all the hopes of the reform which its show of independence had given for some time to many people. The synod being now entirely under the influence of Rome, enacted some regulations entirely conformable to the interests of Rome, and productive of no real reform.*

The most remarkable transactions of that assembly are the observations made by it on the state of the Roman Catholic church in Poland, and on the causes which had disturbed its peace. Although written strictly in a Roman Catholic sense, it expresses with a great spirit

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* The synod enacted thirty-nine regulations, which were published by Vergerius, and dedicated to Bonar, castellan of Biecz, December 1556. The book is exceedingly rare.

of liberty, and without any attempt at concealment, the faults of the Polish clergy, as well as those of the Roman see.

Remarkable confession of this synod about the state of the R. C. church in Poland, and the causes of its corruption.

"The beginning of the troubles," says the synod, "has been caused by the carelessness of the parochial as well as of the higher clergy; but the apostolical see has also committed many errors: it has neglected the dangers, and remained indifferent to them. It did not send ambassadors to the king, in order to obtain from him the execution of the laws against the innovators. It has long time delayed the convocation of a general council. It has granted to the monarchs extensive privileges, contrary to the interests of the church, and rendered them more daring *(insolentiores)*; a bad distribution of the dignities has done the greatest harm to the clergy. The inactivity and supineness of the bishops have greatly increased the troubles of the church, and produced the greatest injury to the clergy. Although endowed with great authority in religious and political affairs, they knew not how to fulfil the duties of either in a worthy manner, but have entirely neglected them. They have oppressed their subjects in a cruel manner, they ordered them to work even on holidays, surpassing even the nobles in their oppression of the peasants.* The bishops have

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* "*Duras exactiones et deputationes; dominicis ac festis diebus eos laborare cogendo et haud parum illis videtur, ut nobilibus hâc*

not watched the progress of the usurpations of the royal power, but, on the contrary, they favoured it, in order to get preferment.* Being often transferred from one bishopric to another, they were often unacquainted with the sees of their dioceses. They acted with great leniency towards the promoters of heresy, and even received them in their own palaces with great kindness, and instead of punishing, they secretly defended them. They have not even refused their hospitality to excommunicated persons. They willingly consented to suspend the excommunications, and would be glad to see them entirely abolished. They have greatly injured, by all this, the authority of the Pope and the rights of the church. They have never employed any real severity, and one of them has publicly said in the assembly of the nobles, 'Let people believe what they like, provided I receive my income.'† Such conduct of the bishops has produced adequate results. The revenues of the church have been seized; the priests have been driven from the churches, which are given to preachers of heresy;

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hâc in re pares sint, nunc etiam superant illos multis nominibus." Vide Mansi.

* "*Ascensiones in corde meditantur semper, sed non in montem Dei.*"—Mansi.

† "*Credat quisque, ut velit, modo reditus mei integri sint.*" —Mansi.

Christian ministry is no longer entrusted to learning and virtue, but to such as have connexions, and are sometimes mere youths, or almost children, and who will not even endue the garment of the priest.* We must not conceal our own faults. The regular and secular clergy are infected with the utmost profligacy of manners. They are addicted to luxury, avarice, debauchery, idleness, carelessness; and, what is worse, the priests have no knowledge of the law of God.†

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* "*Nec vestiuntur habitu clericorum.*"—Mansi, ibid.

† Stanislav Kossobudzki, a zealous but conscientious Roman Catholic, who called the Protestants brigands and robbers of the church, speaks, in a letter addressed to Karnkowski, primate of Poland, 1st December 1572, of the Roman Catholic clergy of Poland in the following manner: "*Mirari plerumque mihi subit, non admodum prudentem aliquorum persuasionem, qui dissensiones religionis ferro ac flamma cohiberi, certe posse existimant: cum citius humanam naturam dissolvere, quam ingenitum religionis amorem ex animis hominum evellere possint—nunquam deploratas atque perditas res esse ecclesiæ, atque nunc sunt—falcatur necesse est: cur omnia moventes nihil provehetis? In humanis tantum confidetis præsidiis. Quomodo Christus doctrinam patris cœlestis propagavit? nostis: non ille armato stipatus exercitu; non auro non gemmis splendens apparuit, sed pauper in pauperi tigurio natus, totum terrarum orbem suæ subjecit potestati. Nemini vim intulit, neminem coegit ut sequeretur. Fundamenta Ecclesiæ præsul amplissime, verbum Dei, bona opera, orationes.*" He further describes the instruction which the Roman Catholic clergy gave to the people in their sermons: "*Aniles magis fabulas quam verbum Dei prædicarint, pudicitiam, devotionem cæterasque virtutes a domo Dei exulasse. Inane fidei nomen relictum—declinavimus viam dominis, sequimur voluntates*

"Since the destruction of our authority the old hatred of the nobles against our order is awakened. The nobles join heresy in crowds, in order to seize the property of the church. Religious innovation is much increased by the favour of the king, who grants the dignities of the state equally to heretics and Christians. He permits foreign academies, which are the known hod-bets of heresy, to be frequented by Polish students. He permits also every kind of book to be printed."

After having described the state of the Roman Catholic religion in Poland, the synod suggested the following means for restoring the authority of the church, and for exterminating heresy: "There ought always to be a nuncio of the apostolical see at the court of the king, in order to prevent the monarch from supporting heresy, and from granting liberties and privileges contrary to the interests of the church. The nomination of the bishops should be restored to the chapters. The dignities of the church should be entrusted to persons capable of fulfilling their duties; but above all, it is necessary to enforce a proper and Catholic reform of the manners of the clergy, and

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tates nostras; ejicimus justitiam, operamur iniquitatem—ut videntes homines opera vestra bona et doctrinæ conscientiam, Deum esse in vobis pronunciare possint—depravatissimos mores corrigendos." He concludes his letter by saying: "*diocesis tua hæreticorum communi labe abundet,*" (vide Sirinium Antiquarium vol. v. p. 312, 376.)

of the different abuses to which it is now subject.* The bishops must expel the heretics from their courts, and never receive them.† They must visit the libraries, and prohibit the printers from publishing heretical works.

"The nobles should be restricted by severe penalties from circulating heretical books. It is necessary to obtain from the king that he should, at least for the future, restrain all those inconceivable impieties; that he should prohibit heretical meetings, which constantly take place every where; that he should defend the churches from being taken by heretics, and the possessions of the clergy from being robbed by them; that he should clean his court from heresy, and grant no favour to heretics; but if the king should refuse to comply with these proposals, the bishops ought to leave the senate, and take no part in the deliberations of the affairs of the state. It is also necessary to request the Pope to admonish the king, and adopt such measures as are generally taken against those who have abandoned the church. It is necessary to renew the ordinance

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* "*Catholica et Modesta pro temporibus congruens fiat reformatio inter ecclesiasticas personas morum et abusuum, neminem esse, qui non videat clerum reformatione in vita, moribus, ac toto suo statu egere.*"—Mansi.

† "*Ex curiis suis pellant hereticos;*" *ibid.* There have been, indeed, very many instances in Poland of Roman Catholic bishops maintaining a friendly intercourse with Protestants.

which prohibited Polish students from frequenting foreign schools. The bishops ought to be always present at the elections of the nobles, and endeavour to prevent all but good Roman Catholics from being returned as nuncios to the Diet."

Finally, the synod expressed a wish that a general council, convoked in an independent place *(in loco libero)*, should pacify the dissensions which agitated the church, by introducing into it the necessary reforms.

Although this synod produced no consequences whatever, neither enacted any positive laws, it is very remarkable, by the bold manner in which it denounced the evils which afflicted the church, and expressed the necessity of reforming them; and it may be supposed that, had its deliberations been carried on in an independent manner, and free from the influence of the legate, it would have effected some very salutary reforms; and even perhaps, if it had followed the development of an independent spirit, which seemed to have for some time animated its members, it would have shaken off the Papal domination from the church of Poland.

The synod fails in its attempt at prosecuting a refractory priest.

The synod, or rather the legate who directed all its proceedings, tried on that occasion to assert the rights of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. As the decrees of the ecclesiastical courts did no longer affect the nobles, they chose for their victim one of their refractory priests. Stanislav

Lutomirski, canon of Przemysl and rector of Konin, was cited on a suspicion of heresy. This summons was regularly attended by Lutomirski, who took advantage of it, as being a fit opportunity for publicly declaring his Protestant opinions. He arrived with a large number of influential friends, each of whom was provided with a bible, as the most efficient arms against Romanism. The synod did not dare to open the prosecution against such a bold antagonist of the Roman church, and the doors of the hall where he was to be tried were closed to the accused and his friends.*

Judicial murder committed by the synod on some Jews, and one Christian woman.

Having failed to assert its jurisdiction in a case of heresy, the synod tried it with a lamentable success in that of a sacrilege. In order to have a better chance of attaining their object, the clergy chose now their victim amongst the inferior classes of society. Dorothy Lazecka, a poor girl, was accused of having obtained from the Dominicans of Sochaczew† a host, feigning to receive communion. It was said that she wrapped that host in her clothes, and sold it afterwards to the Jews of a neighbouring village for three dollars and a gown embroidered with silk. This host was said to have been carried by the Jews to

* Friese, vol. i. page 264.

† A little town between Lowicz and Warsaw, thirty-eight English miles from that capital.

the synagogue, where being pierced with needles, it emitted a quantity of blood, which was collected into a flask and preserved for some religious rites. Notwithstanding the absurdity of this accusation, the legate seized that occurrence, which according to Roman Catholic authors most opportunely happened,* in order to prove by a miracle the reality of the transubstantiation, and that the communion of two kinds was quite unnecessary, as the host contained the blood as well as the body of Christ.† The Jews tried in vain to prove the absurdity of the charge, arguing, that as their religion permitted them not to believe the mystery of the transubstantiation, they could never be supposed to try a similar experiment on the host, which they considered as a mere wafer. The synod, influenced by Lippomani, condemned them, as well as the unfortunate woman, to be burnt alive. This iniquitous sentence could not, however, be put into execution without the *exequatur* of the king,

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* "*Commode accidit,*" says Starowolski in his *Epitomæ Synodorum;* "*Commodissime illud eo tempore in Polonia accidit.*" Raynaldus ad annum 1556. These confessions of Romanist writers speak volumes.

† The following evidence on this subject is given by a zealous Roman Catholic writer. "*Effecit Lippomanus ut de sacrilega puella et judeis supplicium sumeretur, et quæstio a laicis proposita de usu calicis divino miraculo dejudicaretur.*"—Starowolski Epitomæ Synodor.

which could not be expected to be obtained from the enlightened Sigismund Augustus. The bishop of Chelm, Przerembski, who was at the same time vice-chancellor of Poland, made a report to the king of the above-mentioned case, which he described in expressions of a pious horror, and entreated the monarch not to allow that such a crime committed against the divine majesty should go unpunished. Myszkowski, a grand dignitary of the crown, who was a Protestant, became so indignant at this report that he could not restrain his anger, and was only prevented by the presence of the king from using violence against the prelate,* the impiety and absurdity of whose accusation he exposed in strong language. The monarch declared that he would not believe such absurdities, and sent an order to the starost of Sochaczew to release the accused party; but the vice-chancellor forged the *exequatur*, by attaching the royal seal without the knowledge of the monarch, and sent an order that the sentence of this synod

* Myszkowski said to Przerembski on that occasion: "*Ego nequicquam Deum irrideo, sed vestras calumnias, fabulas ac nuncia vanitatis plena, quæ spargistis et ad aures regis defertis, nec divinam nec regiam majestatem reverentes et ad omnem fraudem, exuto non tandem Dei metu sed et pudore projecto. Deum ego metuo et vereor et quis sit scio, ac certus sum, cum est spiritus, ac nullibus sensibus attingi posset tantominus artibus vel manibus configi posse.*"—Lubieniecki.

should be immediately carried into execution. The king was informed of the forgery, and he instantly despatched a messenger to prevent its effects. It was however too late, and the act, to stigmatize which we have no adequate expression, was perpetrated before the arrival of the royal message.

This atrocity filled all Poland with horror, and the hatred which the legate had already inspired became still more increased. It also considerably strengthened the anti-Romanist feeling amongst the nation, by showing what the country had to expect if the Roman Catholic party were to crush its antagonists. Lippomani having now become the object of a general hatred, left the country, followed by the national execration.

Correspondence between Lippomani and Radziwill.

We must not omit mentioning the attempt which was made by the legate at converting the leader of the Protestant party, prince Nicholaus Radziwill, who by his intimate friendship with the monarch, his high station and riches, was the most influential grandee of his time in Poland. He addressed to him a letter in which he feigned to disbelieve his heresy, although Radziwill openly professed the reformed religion. After having quoted many reports of Radziwill's heresy, he asked him whether he was to believe them to be true. "The public rumour," says he, "expresses that the palatine of Vilna patronizes all heresies, and that all the dangerous innovators

are gathering under his protection; that he erects, wherever his influence reaches, sacrilegious altars against the altar of God, and that he establishes pulpits of falsehood against the pulpits of truth." He reproached him further for introducing the communion of two kinds, abolishing the worship of the saints and the prayers for the dead, and concluded, after having enumerated many similar accusations, with the compliment, that if Radziwill had only abandoned heresy and returned into the pale of the Roman church, he would have been the most perfect of men, as he was possessed of every quality and virtue, and was deficient only in true religion. Radziwill replied to that letter in an epistle couched in rather violent language, answering each of his objections by arguments intermingled with severe animadversions against the Roman church.*

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* This remarkable correspondence was published at Königsberg in 1556, with a long preface by P. P. Vergerius, under the title "*Ducæ Epistolæ altera Aloysii Lippomani Veneti, Episcop. Veronæ, Romani Pontificis in Polonia Legati, ad Illustrissimum Principem D. Nicolaum Radzivilium, Palatinum Vilnensem. Altera vero ejusdem Illustrissimi D. Radzivili ad Episcopum et Legatum illum, lectu dignissimæ, si ullæ fuerunt nostra ætate.*" The answer of Radziwill was written by the same Vergerius.

Radziwill (Nicholas the IVth of that name), grand chancellor and grand general of Lithuania, and palatine of Vilna, was a very remarkable man. He travelled in his youth into most parts of Europe, and was so skilful in bodily exercises, that he surpassed in this respect all the gentlemen of his time. He

The synod of Lowicz, instead of restoring the cause of Romanism, rather injured it. It manifested the weakness of the Roman clergy, and

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He was brother to Barbara, the first queen of Sigismund Augustus, and possessed the unlimited confidence of that monarch. He distinguished himself in many wars, but particularly against the German knights of Livonia. When he was sent ambassador to Charles the Vth and Ferdinand king of the Romans, he stood godfather to the archduke Ernest. The uncompromising zeal with which he advocated the cause of the Reformation, is evident from the strong language he made use of, in his dedication to Sigismund Augustus of the first Protestant Bible published at his expense at Brest in Lithuania, in 1563, where he says amongst others: "But if your majesty (which may God avert), continuing to be deluded by this world, unmindful of its vanity, and fearing still some hypocrisy, will persevere in that error which according to the prophecy of Daniel, that impudent priest, the idol of the Roman temple, the now manifest disturber of Christian peace and sower of tares, had made abundantly grow in his infected vineyard, like a true and real antichrist; if your majesty will follow to the end that blind chief of a generation of vipers, and lead us the faithful people of God the same way, it is to be feared that the Lord might, for such a rejection of his truth, condemn us all with your majesty to shame, humiliation, and destruction, and afterwards to an eternal perdition." His lady, Elizabeth Szydlowiecki, zealously assisted his pious efforts to spread the pure word of God. He died in 1567, and was borne to the grave by his four sons. Thuanus says that they all turned Roman Catholics; (vide Thuan, lib. xxxviii.) One of them, Nicholaus, became celebrated by his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, a description of which was published. He purchased all the copies he could get of his father's Bible, and burnt them publicly in the market-place of Vilna. George entered

gave, by the execution of the Jews and of the unfortunate woman Lazecka, a proof of what would have been their proceedings if they had

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entered the church, and became a cardinal. Albert and Stanislav occupied eminent situations in their country. His cousin, Christopher Radziwill, likewise embraced the Protestant religion, and the motives which induced him to take that step deserve a particular notice. It is said that, being extremely sorry that his relative had abandoned the Roman church, he went to Rome, and paid all imaginable honours to the Pope, who acknowledged his fidelity by the present of a box filled with relics. When he returned to his country, the fame of these relics spread abroad, and some friars came and told him that a man was possessed by the devil who had been exorcised to no purpose; they therefore besought him, for the sake of that unhappy wretch, to lend them the precious relics which he had brought from Rome. This was readily granted, and the relics were carried to church by a solemn procession. They were deposited on the altar, and on the appointed day the experiment was made in the presence of a large multitude. It succeeded perfectly well; and as soon as the relics were applied, the evil spirit left the body of the man with the usual postures and grimaces. Every one cried out, "a miracle!" and Radziwill lifted up his hands and eyes to heaven, to return thanks for his having brought so holy a thing, which performed such miracles. But some days afterwards, when he was in that admiration and transport of joy, and was bestowing the greatest eulogiums on the virtue of those relics, he observed that a young gentleman of his household who had the keeping of that treasure began to smile and make certain gestures, which shewed that he was laughing at his words. Radziwill flew into a passion, and would know the reason of his derision. A promise being made to this gentleman that no harm should be done to him, he declared that on their return from Rome he

regained the upper-hand in Poland. The Protestant party grew every day bolder, and at the Diet of Piotrkow in 1559, an attempt was made

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he had lost the box with the relics entrusted to his care, and that, for fear of being punished for his neglect, he had got another box similar to that which had been lost, and filled it with little bones of some animals; and that therefore he could not help laughing, seeing the virtues ascribed to it. Radziwill, wishing to ascertain the reality of that imposture, sent for the monks, and desired them to inquire whether there were no more demoniacs who wanted the assistance of his relics. After a few days they brought him another man possessed by the evil spirit, who made extraordinary contortions. Radziwill ordered them to perform in his presence the ordinary exorcisms; but which having proved ineffectual, he sent away the monks, and ordered the demoniac to remain in his house. When the priests were gone, Radziwill put the demoniac into the hands of his Tartar grooms, who exhorted him to confess the imposture; but when he persisted in making his furious gestures, they imposed on him a severe castigation with rods and scourges; the wretch confessed his imposture, and that he never was possessed, but only forced by the monks to play such a part. Radziwill sent for the monks, who at first implored him not to believe the man's confession, because it was the devil who spoke by his mouth; but Radziwill answered, that if his Tartars were able to make the devil speak the truth, they would be able to extort it from the friars. The monks were forced to confess their imposture, but excused themselves by pretending that they had done all this with a good intention, and in order to check the progress of heresy. These *pious frauds* raised great doubts in Radziwill's mind about the truth of a religion defended by such means, and he began to study the scriptures. After six months spent in reading and prayer, he

to deprive the bishops of the senatorial dignities, on account of their oath of fidelity to the Pope, which was necessarily in direct opposition to their duty to their country. Ossolinski, who made this motion, read publicly the formula of the above-mentioned oath, explaining its dangerous tendency to the interests of the country, and concluded by saying, that if the bishops fulfilled the obligations to which they were bound by that oath, they were traitors and not guardians of the state.†

The convocation of a national synod prevented by the intrigues of Commendoni, the legate of the Pope.

The motion was not carried, probably because a general reform of the church was soon expected to take place, It was in order to accelerate such a reform, that the Diet of 1563 passed a resolution that a general synod representing all the religious parties should be convoked. Its convocation, although much favoured by the archbishop Uchanski, was however prevented by the legate of the

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he publicly embraced the Protestant religion, with all his family. (Vide Bayle, art. 'Radziwill.') Regenvolscius, or Wengierski, gives to that Radziwill who was induced to become Protestant by detecting a fraud of the Roman Catholics, the name of Nicholaus. He was distinguished by the surname of Rufus, and his descendants persevered in the Protestant communion, till the last of them, Louisa princess palatine of Neubourg, turned Roman Catholic towards the end of the seventeenth century. The family of Radziwill was invested with the title of princes of the Roman empire in 1518.

† "*Episcopi sunt non custodes sed proditores reipublicæ.*"

Pope, Commendoni,* who succeeded by his ma-

* Gratiani, the biographer of Commendoni, gives the following account of this affair:—"The chiefs of the heretics, who were the first noblemen of the country, being powerful by themselves, and having great influence at the court and amongst the nation, sought the more to strengthen their party, as they saw that Commendoni was acting strongly for the Roman Catholics. They directed all their efforts in order to convoke a national council, where they might determine the religious affairs according to the customs and interests of the state, and without the participation of the Pope;" (a most important confession of a zealous Romanist, that the interests of the state are contrary to those of the Pope). "They had at their disposal an archbishop (Uchanski), who by his dignity was equally influential in the senate as well as amongst the clergy, and whose hopes they flattered with their promises. Uchanski had also much at heart the same project, for reasons which we have already stated;" (he expected to be the hea dof an independent Polish church; vide the same work, page 186); "and it occupied his thoughts day and night; he had secret conferences on that subject with an intimate friend of his, who was of a low origin, but who had made himself known by his invectives against the Roman Catholic church, against which he had written several volumes. Commendoni discovered the designs and intrigues of Uchanski and the heretics; and as he applied himself to destroy all their measures, he resolved to dissimulate all that he had learned about it, because he did not think proper to irritate, in that state of affairs, a man who was of great importance by his riches, his dignity, and his connexions with the adversaries, and who would have openly declared for them if he had thought that his designs were discovered. He was the more to be feared, as the king was very much inclined to assemble the clergy according to the impressions which were given to him, and which it was difficult to take away from his mind.

chinations to delay it, but perhaps even more by the dissensions which agitated the Protestant

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mind. Commendoni employed for that purpose all his diligence and dexterity, and he frequently admonished the monarch that the public peace and his own authority was in danger; that all the rights that he should concede to the heretics, and to the blind and seditious mob, would be followed by the loss of as many rights belonging to himself. That if, with all the power of laws and with all the ordinances and precedents, it was almost impossible to restrain them, what dangers might not arise if an appearance of justice should be given to their bad intentions? That two years ago the king of France, who was then still a child, was induced by the weakness of his mother, and by the insincere advice of his ministers, to show the same condescension, and assisted himself with the queen at the colloquium of Poissy, as if he had been the arbiter of the differences and controversies of the church. That this assembly was the source of great divisions, and became a trumpet which had excited the minds of the people to the revolt; that this disputation contributed only to the increase of the violence and fury of the civil wars."

By this advice he dissuaded the king from the project of assembling a national synod. This prince loved tranquillity, and feared nothing so much as disturbances and revolts in his states; therefore, when the matter was brought forward in the senate, he interrupted the proposition, and protested that it was not for him to decide any thing in ecclesiastical matters. Many bishops and senators defended, on that occasion, the cause of religion with great zeal. Stanislav Wolski, castellan of Rava, strenuously maintained that it did not belong to the particular assemblies of one nation to decide about the duties of a religion, and to determine the rules of Christian piety, on which depended the salvation of all Christians; that these matters should be settled according to the ancient canons by general councils;

party, and which produced great harm to the cause of the Reformation.*

During the above-mentioned attempts in Po-

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councils; and he concluded by addressing the monarch in the following words: "For my part, sire, I most heartily acknowledge you as my sovereign, but at the same time I unhesitatingly declare, that I will never acknowledge you as my Pope." Uchanski dared not to act openly in favour of the heretics, and Commendoni maintained him in his duty to the Pope by his exhortations, and by opposing to him other bishops who resisted him. This archbishop gave sometimes, in the senate, very salutary advice, and feigned from time to time to have quarrels with the heretics in order to conceal the better his real sentiments, and to make show of an apparent zeal for the church, which caused the heretics to begin to suspect him. Commendoni entertained secretly these suspicions, and availed himself with great prudence of all these circumstances. (Vide Life of Commendoni by Gratiani, French translation, page 213 and following.) "*Permulti hereticorum fautores summa moliebantur ope, ut consilium gentis quod nationale vocant, cogeretur, in quo, sine ulla authoritate pontificis maximi de universa religione prout ex ipsorum usu et Republica visum esset, constitueret.*"—Raynaldus ad ann. 1563.

* Albert Laski, nephew of the reformer, turned Roman Catholic in 1569, and gave as the chief reason of his change of religion, the dissensions amongst the Protestants; it seems however, that love was the real motive of his apostasy. The same unfortunate dissensions, and principally the anti-Trinitarian doctrines, which began to spread at that time, induced many influential persons to return into the pale of the Roman Catholic church; such were John Chodkiewicz, starost of Samogitia; Andreas Zborowski, Abraham Zbonski, descendant of the Hussite leader of that name, (vide page 81), and several others.

land to reform its church by a national synod, the council of Trent was concluding its labours. It is well known that, although it usurped the name of an œcumenic or universal council, it represented only the strict Roman Catholic party; and that the attempts which were made by a few individuals to propose some real reforms had no chance of success against the preponderant influence of Rome.* We have already mentioned the legation which was intended to have been sent from Poland to that council, but which was prevented by circumstances from taking place.† It may be said that the council of Trent remained entirely foreign to Poland, because even the Roman Catholic party of that country was not represented there; the Polish bishops being too much occupied in defending their dioceses from the growing attacks of Protestantism, dared not leave them, and demanded the authorization of giving their votes at the council by proxy. This demand was, however, refused by the Pope: who had indeed good reasons for denying it, because had he authorized the bishops to give their votes by proxy, those belonging to different nations would have obtained a great majority over the

Poland takes no part in the council of Trent, and opposes its enactments.

* As, for instance, Dudithius, or Dudycz, of whom we shall speak hereafter, defended the communion of two kinds; the Bavarian ambassador demanded the marriage of priests.

† Vide page 218.

Roman and other Italian prelates who were present at the council—a circumstance which might expose the Roman see to consequences similar to those it had experienced from the councils of Constance and Basil, and which it carefully sought to avoid. The absence of Polish prelates at the council made the Roman court uneasy, and it obtained from the king, that he sent Herburt, bishop of Przemysl, as his ambassador to the council, who extolled, at one of its meetings, the piety and orthodoxy of his monarch in the most glowing terms.*

He was, however, only the ambassador of the king himself, and he did by no means represent the Diet, which should have given its authorization for so important an object; and the learned

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* "*Pietatis, tanto quantus esse maximus potest, lucet splendore. Quantum exstat ejus studium in vera religione augenda, dilatanda? Quanto studio contendat et elaboret, ut hæc lues tetra quæ nostro sæculo plerasque provincias Europeæ pervagata est, eo minus funditius evelli saltem reprimi et sapiri queat.*" Labbeus. Herburt had evidently much more at heart to maintain the honour of the orthodoxy of his monarch, than was consistent with truth. Hosius, who was one of the presidents of the council of Trent, had quite a different opinion on this subject, as he wrote about Sigismund Augustus what follows: "*Scio quod fert, Regia majestas, non solum Lutheristas et confessionistas, verum et Calvinistas, et Anabaptistas et Trideistas et omnem hæreticorum fecem, volente Regia majestate, nostros homines, non ita procul ab Mahometana perfidia abesse.*"—Hosii Epistolæ 167. ann. 1572.

historian of the council of Trent justly observes, that Poland was not represented at that assembly.*

The statutes of the council of Trent were brought to Poland by cardinal Commendoni, who tried to make them accepted at the Diet of Parczow in 1564. He addressed the king in the assembled senate in a long speech, praising the Roman Catholic religion and the council of Trent, and deprecating religious innovation. The archbishop Uchanski advised, in a speech in which he paid great compliments to the Pope and the fathers of the council, to accept politely the book offered by the Roman legate, without giving any positive answer, until the king should have read it and examined it with his council. An animated discussion ensued, and the debates were interrupted without coming to any conclusion; but the chancellor informed the legate that the king personally received the above-mentioned statutes, and that he would submit to their pro-

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* Herburt confessed it himself in the above-mentioned speech, saying: "*Tenere non potuit quin hoc oratorem suum non expectato, ea de re comitiali decreto delegaret—in veteri more ac instituto regni hoc positum sit, ut de decernendis mittendisque legationibus in comitiis regni suspiciatur deliberatio, utique nisi comitiali decreto intercedente orator regie majestatis huc erat mittendus.*" Labbeus, xiv. 19. This perfectly contradicts the statement of Hosius, who says that Herburt "*Regis et Regni personam in co loco sustinuit.*"—Vide his Opera, p. 697.

visions. The senate, however,* never passed a similar resolution, and it was not even presented to the Chamber of Nuncios. The statutes of the council of Trent were received by the Polish Roman Catholic clergy, with some limitations, in the same year 1564; but in 1578, the same clergy unconditionally submitted to it, at a synod convened at Piotrkow. It was, however, never accepted by the Diet, notwithstanding the attempts which were made to that effect under the reigns of Sigismund the Third and John Sobieski, although Romanism had then already gained a complete ascendancy over the Protestants.

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* Vide "Vie de Commendoni," pp. 234, 353. The statement of Mosheim, who says, page 145, vol. iv. English translation, "that Poland implicitly received the decrees of the council of Trent," is quite incorrect.

CHAPTER VII.

CONTINUATION OF THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN PROTESTANTISM AND ROMANISM, AND FURTHER INCREASE OF REFORMATION IN THE VARIOUS PROVINCES OF POLAND.

Roman Catholic synod of Piotrkow.

THE Roman Catholic clergy clearly saw the rapid and universal decline of their influence, and the synod which they convened at Piotrkow rendered such a position still more manifest. It acknowledged itself the supineness of its members, by exacting their presence at future synods by pecuniary fines imposed on those who should absent themselves.* It prohibited, that any books having a tendency towards the new doctrines should be read in the schools, but recommended some productions of antiquity, preferring paganism to heresy. It passed also a resolution that the king should be requested to issue an

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* The archbishop was to pay, for his absence, a fine of one hundred marks, and a bishop fifty.

ordinance prohibiting the booksellers from circulating heretical works. The same clergy had extorted by their importunities from the monarch some ordinances respecting the religious innovations, but which were rather admonitions than decrees, as they condemned heresy without enacting any penalties against it. The most remarkable enactment concerning religious matters was that which was issued by the Diet of Parczow in 1564, and which originated from the united efforts of opposite parties. It was about that time that the anti-Trinitarian doctrines began to be broached by the so-called Minor Church or Anabaptists of Pinczow. They supported the dogma of the supremacy of the Father over the Son, preparing a complete denial of the divinity of Jesus Christ. These doctrines excited the just animadversion of all the religious parties; and the three Protestant churches in Poland—the Helvetian, the Lutheran, and the Bohemian—who meditated a union amongst themselves, disclaimed every community with the Pinczowians. Commendoni and Hosius tried to take advantage of this opportunity, and presented to the king the project of a law exiling from Poland all priests who had not been confirmed by the Roman Catholic authority; but when they saw the impossibility of passing such a law, they demanded of the king that he should order the expulsion of all foreign Protestant ministers. They were

no more successful in this demand, and the influence of the archbishop Uchanski, united with that of some senators belonging to the Helvetian and the Bohemian churches, exacted an ordinance on the 17th of August, by which all the foreign ministers denying the mystery of the Trinity, were compelled to quit the country in three days after Michaelmas. Although this ordinance related solely to those who professed anti-Trinitarian doctrines, Hosius tried to convert it into a measure against the Bohemian Brethren, considering them as foreigners, and consequently subject to the provisions of the above-mentioned ordinance, although they were very far from impugning the dogma of the Trinity. Kosielecki, general or first magistrate of Grand Poland, a zealous Roman Catholic, was prevailed on by Hosius to make such a false application of the above-mentioned decree, and he had already begun to take some measures to compel them to leave the country. But James Ostrorog, palatine of Inowroclav, Raphael Leszczynski, whose bold manifestations of Protestant opinions we have already mentioned, and Laurentius, bishop of the Bohemian community, represented to the king the reason why the above-mentioned ordinance was not applicable to them, and presented to him an apology of their creed. The king received in a favourable manner their representations, and declaring that their confession was not

Fruitless attempts of Hosius to apply that ordinance to the Bohemian Brethren.

contrary to real Christianity, issued an ordinance on the 2d of November 1564, by which he prohibited the persecution of foreigners professing the Bohemian creed. Such consequences of the above-mentioned decree did not at all satisfy Hosius, who bitterly reproached the primate Uchanski for having supported a decree which exclusively condemned the anti-Trinitarians without touching the other heretics. He maintained that it was necessary to persecute and to eradicate all the heretics, because the expulsion of the opponents of the Trinity only was an approbation of the other heresies. If it were impossible to expel all the heretics, it was much better to leave them all, that they might mutually destroy each other by their dissensions. War amongst heretics gives peace to the church.*

It is applied to the celebrated Ochino, who is obliged to leave Poland.

The only victim who suffered by that decree was the celebrated Italian, Ochino, whose fortunes are amply described by the talented author of the "History of the Reformation in Italy," M'Crie. He arrived in Poland in the month of May 1564, and was cordially received by those who shared his religious opinions. He remained for some time at Cracow, where he preached in his native language to a congregation composed of Italians and Poles. He took also an active part in a

* "*Ferrentur omnes quo mordentes et comedentes invicem consumerentur ab invicem.*" Hosius, Ep. 105.

synod of the anti-Trinitarians. Cardinal Borromeus wrote by the order of the Pope to Hosius and Commendoni, that they should endeavour to expel Ochino from Poland; and Beza addressed at the same time a letter to the reformed churches, entreating them to do the same. Ochino was therefore obliged to leave Poland, and retired to Moravia, where he soon terminated his long and agitated life.

The R. C. clergy tries in vain to persecute the citizens of Posnania.

The Roman Catholic clergy despairing to cause any injury to the Protestant nobles, chose another arena for combating heresy. The inhabitants of the towns were not sheltered by the same privileges as the nobles, neither were they included in the law which granted to every Polish noble the freedom of establishing in his house such mode of Christian worship as he might think proper. The town of Posnania offered the most favourable opportunity for trying an experiment to persecute Protestants. Many of its citizens were openly professing Lutheran doctrines as well as those of the Bohemian Brethren. Koscielecki, the chief magistrate of that province, a zealous Romanist, was always inclined to give a ready assistance to every attempt at persecuting the opponents of the Pope. Czarnkowski, bishop of Posnania, a man of a very cautious character, instigated in an underhand manner the persecution which he had not sufficient courage openly to begin; but

Paul Sarbin, a Dominican monk and inquisitor of the diocese of Posnania, summoned before the ecclesiastical tribunal Gregory Grycer, a citizen of that town, accusing him of having abandoned the Roman Catholic religion for the Bohemian or Picardian heresy; of having opened his house for impious meetings, where the communion of two kinds was administered, and of having entrusted the education of his children to John Rokita, a Bohemian minister. Grycer did not deny the truth of the accusation, and demanded only a delay of his trial. The inquisitor issued a summons at the same time, and on the same charge, against James, a druggist, and Seraphine, a tailor, both citizens of Posnania, who paid no notice to those summonses. The magistrates of the town, acting under the influence of the clergy, imprisoned the above-mentioned individuals, who would have probably met with a tragical end if the proceedings commenced against them had been suffered to continue. But the Protestant grandees, Gorka, palatine of Posnania, and James Ostrorog, entered the town at the head of many armed nobles professing the same creed, forced the prison and released the sufferers, who, supported by such a protection, were no longer molested on acount of their religious opinions. The bishop, seeing that he was unable to wreak publicly, and in the midst of a populous city, his

vengeance against the antagonist of Rome, cited before an ecclesiastical court, which he had opened on his own estate, Cionzen, Paul, an organist* by profession, on a charge of heresy. Paul denied not the charge, and promised to prove his conviction by argument. Such defence would, however, have been of little avail to him if he had no other support; but the Protestant grandees, John Tomicki, castellan of Rogozno, James Ostrorog, and Raphael Leszczynski, assisted with a hundred armed retainers, accompanied Paul to the ecclesiastical tribunal. The bishop, informed of this circumstance, did not wait for the appearance of the defendant, but pronounced by default a sentence of death against him. When the above-mentioned nobles appeared before the bishop, he said that they came too late, because the affair was terminated, and that they had nothing to do with it, because it related not to the nobles, but to an individual who did not enjoy their privileges. Ostrorog answered, that if they permitted to injure for his religious opinions a single individual, however mean might be his condition, the same thing would be attempted against the first gran-

* Paul was not a common organist, but seems to have been a person of some importance, as a work on the duties of the assistants of the Bohemian churches was dedicated to him.

dees of the realm. Paul returned to Posnania, where he remained quiet after the clergy had tried once more, but in vain, to molest him.

Otwinowski insults the most sacred ceremony of the R. C. church, at a public procession in the streets of Lublin.

The most remarkable event, however, which gave a full evidence of the weakness of the authority of Rome and the contempt into which it had fallen at that time in Poland, occurred at Lublin in 1564. Erasmus Otwinowski,* who afterwards became conspicuous as an adherent of the anti-Trinitarian sect, and as head master of their celebrated school at Racov, succeeded in convincing by his arguments a Roman Catholic priest of the absurdity of the real presence in the Eucharist, so that the priest promised to him never to expose it to the adoration of the people. The priest did not, however, keep his promise, and carried the host inthe usual manner at a solemn procession in the streets of Lublin. Otwinowski stopped the priest in the midst of a large crowd of people, and loudly reproached him for performing a ceremony, the absurdity of which he had acknowledged himself. He demanded of the priest to say the Lord's prayer, and when the clergyman said, " Our father, which art in heaven, "

* The same Erasmus Otwinowski is known in the Polish literature as the translator of Ovid's Metamorphoses, and as the author of several poems. He put into Polish verse all the parables of our Saviour. He himself and eight of his brothers embraced the Socinian doctrines. He died in 1607, at the age of ninety.

Otwinowski exclaimed, "God is then in heaven, and not in the bread;" and saying this, he snatched from the hands of the priest the box containing the consecrated wafer, which he threw on the ground, and trampled under his feet. The assembled crowd murmured at the profanation of the established worship, but offered no violence to Otwinowski. The priest sent for the armed force to arrest him, but he took shelter in the house of a Protestant noble of the name of Suchodolski. This daring act, which was certainly reprehensible for its violence, but which may be excused by the zeal of Otwinowski, who was risking his life rather than suffer what he justly considered as an impious idolatry, produced, as it may be supposed, the greatest scandal amongst the Roman Catholics; and it could not but injure the belief in the transubstantiation, as no signs of heavenly wrath appeared to punish such a daring act of profanation of an object which was considered so sacred in the eyes of the Roman Catholics. He was accused before the tribunal of the Diet, and was in great danger of being condemned to a severe penalty; but his advocate, the celebrated Rey of Naglovice,* who was at that time member for Cracow, succeeded in giving a favourite turn to this affair. He defended him on the plea that there was no law

He is accused, tried, and acquitted; but a new law is enacted to protect the worship of all religious parties.

* Vide page 161.

that provided against a similar trespass, and that he could only be condemned to indemnify the priest for the broken box and the flour expended in making the wafer. Otwinowski was therefore acquitted; but a new law was enacted, which severely prohibited the disturbance of any religious worship, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant.

The bishops being at last convinced of the utter impossibility of breaking down Protestantism by force, changed their policy, and tried to attain their object by conciliatory means. They proposed at the Diet in 1566 to the Protestants the following conditions:—"That the nobles might have in their houses ministers who have seceded from the Roman church, but that the same ministers should be approved by the Roman Catholic bishops: that the nobles might erect new churches for the performance of the Protestant worship, and maintain them at their own expense, but that they should never touch either the churches or tithes belonging to the Roman Catholics.

Insidious propositions made by the bishops to the Protestants.

Besides this concession in respect to hierarchy, they proposed an apparently still larger one, in respect to the dogma. They consented to admit the Gospels as the only unerring foundation of faith, annulling all the explanations given by the Roman Catholic councils and synods; they only enacted that the authority of Augustinus, Chrisostomus, Ambrosius, and Hieronymus, should be admitted as a test in expounding the Scriptures.

This proposition was opposed by the followers of the Helvetian and Bohemian churches, and chiefly by Stanislav Lasocki and Nicholaus Rey. The latter demanded of the bishops to give an explanation in what sense the four above-mentioned fathers of the church were to be understood. The bishops were compelled to confess, that it could not be done in any other sense than that which the Roman Catholic church attached to them. This forced confession proved to the Protestants that the above-mentioned proposition was nothing but a snare which the bishops were laying for them, and it put a stop to all further discussions on this subject.

Establishment of Lutheranism in Polish Prussia.

Whilst the struggle amongst the religious parties, which we have described, was going on in Poland, Lutheranism was making rapid strides in Polish Prussia. We have already described the tragical events by which Protestantism was suppressed for a time at Dantzic, as well as in all the provinces of Prussia.* We have also said, that this same province although politically united with Poland, possessed a separate administration and legislation; it had also a separate hierarchy of its clergy, whose chief, the archbishop of Warmia, was independent of the head of the Polish church. This last circumstance, which in some degree isolated the Prussian clergy from that of Poland, may

* Vide page 116 and following.

be considered as a favourable circumstance to the progress of the Reformation, as it prevented the above-mentioned clergy from acting with concentrated forces against the growing influence of Protestantism.

The violent suppression of the reformed doctrines in 1526 did not eradicate them, but only arrested their open manifestation. The persecution seems also to have exalted the imaginations of some hot-brained people, as there are traces of some fanatical sects having appeared about that time at Dantzic. As soon as the terror produced by the severities of the triumphant Romanism began to subside the Protestant opinions, which had been only concealed but not extirpated, began to show themselves, assuming daily an increase of courage. Hosius, who became archbishop of Warmia in 1551, extorted from the king by his importunities a decree ordering the maintenance of the established religion; but public opinion grew every day stronger in favour of the Reformation, and it was necessary to abolish public processions in 1555. In the same year, a motion was made at the provincial Diet of Prussia, to establish religious liberty in that province; but as the Diet came not to any conclusion on that subject, the majority of the clergy renounced their obedience to Rome, and began to administer the communion of two kinds to their congregations in 1556. The efforts of

Hosius to stop the rapid progress of the Reformation were unavailing, and his influence was more than counterbalanced by that of Achatius Czema, palatine of Marienburg, and Paul Dzialynski, palatine of Pomerania, who had both embraced the Protestant religion. The king granted successively to different towns privileges for erecting Protestant churches and schools, and wherever he thought it inexpedient to give a public countenance to the cause of the Reformation, he connived at its progress.* At last he legalized its existence by the privilege he gave to the town of Dantzic, on the 5th July 1567, to establish the Lutheran mode of worship. This freedom was extended to Elbing the same year, and to all the provinces of Prussia in 1569. This freedom related, however, only to the Lutherans, whilst the other denominations of Protestants were excluded from a share in its benefits.

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* The grand chancellor of Poland, John Ocieski, represented, at a conference which he had in 1556 with the deputies of the town of Dantzic, who sought to obtain a privilege of professing freely the Protestant religion, that the monarch could not grant an official act of such a nature, because the Pope, irritated by such proceedings, would instigate the emperor to assist the Moscovites against Poland; but that they might follow such a kind of worship as their consciences bade them to do, and that the king would never permit them to be molested on that account. Vide Friese, vol. i. page 214 and following.

When Livonia, having voluntarily submitted to the crown of Poland, was annexed to its dominions in 1561, Romanism was already abolished there, and Protestantism, according to the confession of Augsburg, established in its place. This order of things was acknowledged and confirmed by the king of Poland, as well as the other liberties and privileges belonging to the inhabitants of this new and important acquisition.*

Lutheranism, established in Livonia, is confirmed at the union of that province with Poland.

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* Livonia was conquered about 1200, by the German knights called sword-bearers, and continued in the possession of that military order till its extinction in 1561, when Livonia, being unable to defend itself against the Czar of Muscovy, voluntarily submitted to the domination of Poland. Gothard Ketler, the last grand-master of the order, having embraced Lutheranism, married a wife, and was created hereditary duke of Courland, invested with all the rights of a sovereign, but vassal to the crown of Poland. This memorable transaction was performed by prince Nicholaus Radziwill, whom we have had many opportunities of mentioning as a zealous promoter of the Reformation in Poland. The family of Ketler continued on the ducal seat of Courland till 1737, when Biron, or rather Bieren, was raised to that dignity by the influence of the Russian court, and Courland, which remained under the dependence of Poland till its dissolution, became a Russian province in 1795. The Reformation was introduced into Livonia about 1520, and was much favoured by the grand-master, Walther von Plettenberg, one of the greatest chiefs that had ruled the order, although it appears not that he had ever publicly renounced the communion of Rome. It was particularly in the town of Riga that Protestantism obtained an early preponderance, and this important city entered the league of Smalcalden, formed by the Protestants for the defence of their religion, and was included in

We have already said that the towns of Poland, partaking not of the liberties enjoyed by the nobles, were not legally entitled to introduce into their walls the Protestant mode of worship. Cracow, the capital of the country and the residence of the monarch, was placed in this respect in the same position with the other towns. The Protestant doctrines began to be propagated in that city, chiefly by that secret society which we have described.* These doctrines rapidly spread over the palatinate of Cracow, and all the nobles of the two important districts of Proszovice and Xionz adopted the Helvetian or Genevese confession. Olesnicki converted the Roman Catholic church of Pinczow into a Protestant. His example was followed by Lasocki at Plecznica, by Stadnicki at Niedzwiedz, by Zborowski, palatine of Kalisz, at Stobnica, Filipowski at Krzewice, as well as by many others. Myszkowski, palatine of Cracow, the powerful family of Szafraniec, &c. embraced the reformed religion, and maintained ministers of that communion, who preached in the houses of their patrons to the population of Cracow. In 1552, Justus

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in the treaty of Passau in 1552, which granted religious liberty to Protestants. The Reformation spread in Livonia without any commotion, as the clergy themselves readily embraced its doctrines.

* Vide page 138.

Decius, secretary to the king, established a reformed church on his estate called Vola, situated in the immediate vicinity of Cracow, and the synod appointed Gregory Pauli, of Brzeziny, minister to that church, which was frequented by crowds of the inhabitants of Cracow. This place of worship was soon transferred to the interior of the town by Bonar, castellan of Biecz, who established it in a house belonging to him. When Gregory Pauli became infected with anti-Trinitarian doctrines, his place was given in 1562 to Simon Zacius (Zacki). In 1556, the church was transferred by Tenczynski to his own house, and removed in 1568 to that of Tarlo, palatine of Lublin. The Protestant church existed in this manner at Cracow, sheltered by the privileges belonging to the nobles. It was, however, necessary to erect a temple which would correspond in its outward appearance to those of the Roman Catholics, and which should have a legal existence, without the necessity of recurring to the patronage of private individuals. The influence of the Protestant grandees obtained from Sigismund Augustus a privilege, dated 8th August 1569, to build a church, a school, a hospital, and to establish a burial-ground. This privilege was afterwards confirmed and extended by the royal ordinance of 1572, by which the Protestant church was invested with prerogatives equal to those possessed by the Roman Catholics.

A reformed church is erected at Cracow, with the privilege of the monarch.

The necessary cost for the erection of the church and the school was immediately provided by a generous subscription raised by the chief members of the congregation of Cracow, nobles as well as burghers. The following persons were elected as churchwardens and elders to the congregation. From the nobility, John Zebrzydowski and Stanislav Ivan Karminski, one of the first and most zealous promoters of the Reformation: from the burghers, Chrubowski and Gutterer, aldermen of Cracow, Christopher Trecy, and Matthias Wierzbienta, a celebrated printer, and some others; the chief of the tanners' company was chosen diaconus. The church continued to flourish until it was destroyed by mobs instigated by the Jesuits, an event which we shall relate in its proper place.

Establishment of the Bohemian Brethren in Poland, and rapid extension of their church.

The Bohemian Brethren, who, as we have seen,* were compelled in 1548 to leave Poland, after having sojourned during ten weeks in the vicinity of Posnania, stopped for some time at Thorn, where they experienced a favourable reception from the inhabitants of the town and of the surrounding country. Their doctrines began rapidly to gain ground, which naturally alarmed the Roman Catholic clergy, and the bishop of Culm, Tiedeman Giese, although secretly inclined to the doctrines of the Reformation, was

* Vide page 151.

obliged to make an application to the government that the same law by which the brethren were expelled from Grand Poland should be enforced against them likewise in Prussia. The brethren were consequently obliged to leave that province, and to pass into the eastern or ducal Prussia, with the exception of a single minister, who secretly remained superintending a small congregation formed by himself. He was, however discovered by Hosius in 1549, and compelled to follow the rest of his countrymen.

The brethren were favourably received by Albert duke of Prussia, who moreover sheltered them by his patronage from the attacks which some over-zealous Lutheran divines had begun to make on the dogma of the brethren. They received the rights of citizenship, a full liberty of religious exercise, and a church was granted to them, where they performed divine service in their national tongue.* The Bohemians were,

* The patronage of the duke sheltered the Bohemian Brethren from the persecution of the Lutheran divines of Prussia only for a time, and after the death of the above-mentioned prince the persecution was renewed. In 1568, the brethren were prohibited from having public worship. They were ordered to sign the twenty articles of the confession established in Prussia, and it was interdicted to them to have any communication with their brethren either in Poland or Bohemia. This induced the greatest part of them to emigrate, in 1574, to Poland, where they enjoyed full liberty of religion.

however, most anxious to promote and extend their church in Poland, of which they had laid the foundation during their short residence in that country in 1548.

Matthias Sionski, bishop or superintendent of the Bohemian community visited in the following year (1549) Posnania, where he found a hospitable reception in the house of Andreas Lipczynski, alderman of the town. Sionski preached in his house, and succeeded in forming a little congregation. After having visited Moravia, he passed again through Posnania, where he confirmed his rapidly increasing flock, which grew every day by the labours of Matthias Aquila, Mathias Czerwonka, and George Israel, who frequently came over from Prussia to strengthen the zeal and faith of their new brethren. The congregation having grown numerous, Sionski was requested to appoint a permanent minister, and he entrusted George Israel with that office.*

The mission of the new pastor was surrounded with many dangers from the jealousy of the Roman clergy; but his zealous efforts in the Lord's vineyard were soon crowned with a most brilliant success, and his congregation was soon joined by the first families of that province. We may mention, amongst the principal converts,

* Vide page 148.

Catherine Ostrorog, sister of James and Stanislav Ostrorog, lady of Pamiontkow, and her sister Jankowski, whose example was followed by her husband and several relations; as well as by the families of Bukowiecki, Jaskolecki, Roznowski, &c. Gorka, castellan of Posnania, a grandee who had already adopted the doctrines of the Reformation, patronized the new congregation, which was soon increased by Shylling, one of the principal citizens of Posnania; and by Praxeda, a Dominican nun, who distinguished herself afterwards by her pious and exemplary life, as well as by the successful efforts she made to propagate the word of God.*

* The best proof of her eminent merit is, that she particularly deserved the obloquy of the Romanist writers. Rescius (Reszka) calls her a profligate, and says that she administered to her congregation the communion of two kinds, having received the orders: (vide his work *De Atheismis*, page 343.) The same author did not scruple to profer against the Bohemian Brethren, whose morality was acknowledged on all hands, calumnies, the foulness of which was equalled only by their absurdity. He pretended, for instance, that the brethren assembled together in houses where, after divine service, the lights were extinguished, and both sexes abandoned themselves to an abominable commerce with those whom they met by chance, and that children born from such criminal connexion were murdered, by being carried from one person to another until they expired from fatigue, and that he in whose arms the child died was declared high priest of the community. Such were the calumnies printed by Rescius, who was the papal internuncio, and the confidant of Hosius.

But the most zealous and successful promoter of the Bohemian church was George Israel himself, who notwithstanding that his life was menaced by assassins hired by the bishop of Posnania, prosecuted his pious labours with unabated perseverance. He was powerfully assisted by Catherine Ostrorog, sister to James Ostrorog, who although he had abandoned the communion of Rome, was yet undecided which mode of Protestant worship he was to choose. He invited, in 1553, Felix Cruciger of Szczebzreszyn, superintendent of the Helvetian or Reformed churches of Little Poland and Stancari, to act conjointly with Israel in order to unite both the churches. They could not agree, then, about the final settlement of that important question; Felix returned to his province, and Stancari's opinions were soon afterwards condemned by the Helvetian as well as by the Bohemian church. The conference, however, which they had with Israel on that subject in the presence of many persons, produced such an impression on Barbara Stadnicki, wife of Ostrorog, that she declared her resolution to enter the Bohemian community. Her husband hesitated, for some time, but finally followed her example, and delivered all the Romanist churches

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It is, indeed, impossible to admit that he could believe such absurdities; but it was rather the result of a deliberate system of calumny.

of his estates to Bohemian ministers.* Such brilliant success enabled the brethren to establish a church in the town of Posnania, which they did in the palace of the Ostrorogs. This not being as yet allowed by any kind of enactment, could not fail to be considered as an illegal proceeding, and the king was consequently obliged to give way to the representations of the Romanists, and issued an order, on the 3d March 1556, dated Vilno, prohibiting the meetings of the brethren, under the penalties which still existed on the statute book of Poland against heretics, although in fact they had become a dead letter. The zealous Romanist Koscielecki eagerly executed the above-mentioned ordinance, and the Bohemian church of Posnania was shut up by his orders; but it was soon re-opened by the influence of Ostrorog. This success gave courage to the Lutherans, who likewise opened their church at the same place. We have already described in this chapter the unsuccessful attempt which was made by the Romanists at persecuting the Bohemian brethren in 1564.

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* Besides the church at Ostrorog, his principal domain, he gave to the Bohemian ministers those of Lubran, Kozmin, Marszew and Barczyn. Their churches were also established about the same time at Lissa, Wieruszow, Skoki, Szamotuly, and other towns of Grand Poland.

Although Stancari and Felix of Szczebrzeszyn could not effect, in 1553, a union of the reformed church with the Bohemian Brethren, the necessity and possibility of such an act became every day more manifest to the followers of both the churches in Poland. The synod of Slomniki, 25th November 1554, made considerable advances towards the above-mentioned union, but did not adopt any definite resolutions on that important subject. The synod of Chrencice, 24th March 1555, was more explicit in its decisions, and declared the possibility of a union between the Helvetian and Bohemian churches in Poland. The synod of Gnievkof removed many of the obstacles to the accomplishment of that transaction, which was finally effected at the synod of Kozminek, near Kalish. This memorable assembly began its meetings on the 24th August 1555, and terminated them on the 2d September of the same year. The Bohemians were represented by John Czerny, bishop or senior of their community; George Israel, Math. Rybinski, John Gyrk, pastor of the German congregation, P. Studenius, Peter Skalnicki, M. Marszek, Alb. Serpentin, minister of Kozmin, John Rokita, John Laurentius, John Petranius, St. Bydranski, J. Filipowski, &c. There were, besides, the following noblemen who had joined the Bohemian church: John Krotowski, palatine of Inovrotzlav, John Tomicki, castelan of Rogozno; James

They establish a union with the Helvetian church in Poland.

Ostrorog, Leszczynski, Grudzinski Marszewski, &c. The Helvetian church was represented by Felix of Szczebrzeszyn, superintendent of the churches of Little Poland, Andreas Prazmowski, Stan. Lutomirski, Martinus Krowicki, Alexander Vitrelinus, Gregorius Pauli, (the four last-named afterwards deserted their church and embraced anti-Trinitarian opinions). Besides these ministers there were from the nobility, Lasocki, Filipowski, and Andreas Trzecieski, a celebrated scholar. The duke of Prussia delegated his chaplain John Funk, William Krzynecki, baron of Ronow, and Hieronymus Malecki to assist at this synod. The Bohemians presented to the Helvetian church the confession of their faith, as well as the form of their hierarchy and discipline, which, after having been carefully examined, was declared strictly to correspond with the pure precepts of the Gospel, and with the practice of the primitive church. A spiritual community was established between the two churches, although they preserved a separate hierarchy. The ministers of the Bohemian church were acknowledged in the same capacity by the Helvetians and *vice versâ*. This union caused a great joy amongst the principal reformers of Europe, and many of them, as Peter Martyr, Sturm, Pontanus, &c., addressed, on that occasion, congratulatory letters to the Protestant congregations of Poland.

CHAPTER VIII.

RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE ANTI-TRINITARIAN SECT IN POLAND.

THE doctrines of the Reformation had now obtained in Poland a complete triumph over the Romanist opposition, and the Protestant churches, which numbered amongst their followers the noblest families in Poland,* occupied a position

* Trzecieski, in his work "*de Evangelii in Polonia origine*," enumerates the following great Polish names, which had embraced the doctrines of the Reformation previously to the year 1556 :—Ostrorog, Olesnicki, Sieninski, Leszczynski, Szafraniec, Tenczynski, Jordan, Zborowski, Gorka, Mielecki, Laski, Chodkiewicz, Radziwill, Melsztynski, Dembinski, Bonar, Boratynski, Firley, Cikowski, Tarlo, Lubomirski, Dzialynski, Zebrzydowski, Sieniawski, Czarnkowski, Gorski, Dziaduski, Zaremba, Przyjemski, Bninski, Malachowski, Konarski, Wielopolski, Straz, &c. &c. All these families occupied the first dignities of the state. It is remarkable that many of the Protestants having returned into the pale of the Roman church, often preserved opinions which were not in unison with the spirit of that church ; as, for instance, John Zamoyski, whom our

equal to that of their antagonists in political respects, and possessed that superiority which a vigorous youth possesses over a superannuated opponent. But a far more dangerous enemy to the stability of the reformed churches than all the machinations of Rome, arose in the very camp of the Protestants, an enemy equally dangerous to Romanists and Protestants, and which threatened to subvert all revealed religion. We mean the anti-Trinitarian doctrines, which began to be openly broached in Poland about 1546, at the meetings of a secret society at Cracow.* The works of Servetus, according to the evidence of Modrzewski, were read by many in Poland. Lelio Socino, who visited that country in 1551, had undoubtedly propagated the same opinions, and Stancari contributed to it by maintaining that the mediation of our Lord Jesus Christ was

First manifestations of anti-Trinitarian doctrines in Poland.

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our history calls "the Great;" he was educated in the Protestant religion, and even took a conspicuous part in the reformed synod of Bychava, in 1560, but became afterwards a Roman Catholic during his residence in Italy. He was, however, a zealous defender of religious liberty, and he once said, in the presence of the king and of the senate, the following memorable words: "I would give half of my life, if those who have abandoned the Roman Catholic church should voluntarily return into its pale; but I would prefer giving all my life than to suffer any body to be constrained to do it, for I would rather die than witness such an oppression."

* Vide page 139.

Gonesius publicly proclaims them at a synod in 1556.

made only according to his human, and not to his divine nature. But the individual who first embodied the anti-Trinitarian opinions into one positive doctrine, was a certain Peter Gonesius.* He was educated at the university of Cracow; and being a zealous Romanist, he took a violent part against Stancari in 1550. Paul Algimont, prince of Holszansk, bishop of Vilna, took him under his patronage, and afforded to him the means of prosecuting his studies at the foreign universities. Gonesius frequented for some time the university of Wittemberg, and visited the principal academies of Germany without abandoning Romanism; but he changed his persuasion in Switzerland, and went to another extreme, being very likely infected with the anti-Trinitarian doctrines by the Italians who had fled to that country on account of their religious opinions. Be it as it may, Gonesius, who had returned to Poland apparently as a follower of the Helvetian church, openly declared his opinions at the reformed synod of Secemin, the 24th January 1556. He rejected the Athanasian creed, and denied the community of the Son with the Father. He rejected, at the same time, the usual mode of receiving the Trinity, and maintained the existence of three distinct Gods;

* He is also called Goniondzki, or à Goniondz, having probably been a native of Goniondz, a little town in the province of Podlachia.

although he acknowledged the true Godhead to belong only to the Father. The synod gave no decision on that subject, but transmitted his confession to Melancthon. Gonesius was himself its bearer, and Melancthon tried in vain to induce him to abandon his opinions.

Gonesius gave a more complete development of his doctrines at the synod of Brest, in Lithuania, the 15th December 1558, where he read a treatise against the baptism of infants, and added the significant words that there were other things which had crept from Popery into the church.* The synod, being afraid of producing a division amongst the reformers, contented itself with imposing silence on Gonesius, under penalty of excommunication. He, however, refused obedience to his church, and found a great number of adherents who embraced his opinions. He derived the greatest support from John Kiszka, general of Lithuania and starost of Samogitia, a grandee possessed of immense wealth and influence, who having embraced his opinions, appointed him minister of Wengrow, a town belonging to him, and zealously promoted the establishment of churches maintaining the supremacy of the father over the son.† But the doctrines of Go-

* *Se habere et alia quæ ex papatu in ecclesiam irrepuerunt.*

† Gonesius, who maintained that baptism should be administered only to adults (hence the surname of Anabaptists given to his followers), published the following works:—1. "On the Son of

nesius, which resembled more those of Arius than the opinions of Servetus, served only as a passage to a complete denegation of the mystery of the Trinity as well as of the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ. Gonesius soon numbered amongst his adherents many individuals distinguished by their rank and learning, amongst ministers as well as amongst the nobles.

Gonesius gains many followers.

The school of Pinczow becomes chiefly infected with those doctrines,

The anti-Trinitarian doctrine took, however, its greatest development at Pinczow, a place in the palatinate of Cracow, where, as we have seen, Olesnicki had converted the first Roman Catholic church into a Protestant one.* We have also

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of God, who was before the Creation of the World, and by whom all things were made," dedicated to his patron, Kiszka, and printed at Wengrow in 1570.—2. "On the Baptism of Infants."—3. "On the Three, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, against the Adherents of the Trinity." This last work is exceedingly rare, as it was destroyed by Kiszka, who embraced the opinions of the Pinczovians, Sandius enumerated the following works of Gonesius :—1. "Against the Baptism of Infants," read at the synod of Brest in 1558.—2. "A Treatise" on the same subject, against Kryszkowski, a member of the Bohemian Church;" and, 3. "A Treatise against the School of Rakov," which maintained that Christ did not exist previously to his birth. He maintained also, that a Christian should neither bear arms nor accept of any civil office: "*Homini Christiano non licere nec magistratum gerere, neque gladio uti.*" In token of this opinion he used to wear a wooden sword. It is supposed that he advocated also the community of goods.

* Vide page 166.

seen that Stancari, who was chiefly instrumental in bringing about that conversion, contributed much to the rise of anti-Trinitarian doctrines by his disputes about the nature of the mediation of our Saviour. The divines of Pinczow, although apparently following the tenets of the Genevese church, were soon divided into different shades of opinion about the mystery of the Trinity. Besides those who did not question the truth of that mystery, there were two parties, of which one maintained that Jesus Christ, according to his divine nature, was equal to his Father; but as a Mediator according to his human nature, he was inferior to him; the other maintained that the Son was always inferior to the Father. This last opinion made a rapid progress in the boldness of its speculations, as well as in the number of its adherents.

which are divided into several shades.

Notwithstanding these opinions, so contrary to the tenets of the Helvetian church, no open schism took place for some time, and many flattered themselves with the hope of maintaining the purity of its doctrine. This hope proved, however, to be delusive. Czechowicz decidedly rejected the baptism of infants; whilst Shoman Lustovic and Peter Statorius, formally denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit; and the Pinczovians published two confessions of their creed—a small one in 1560, and a larger in 1561. These confessions may be, however, considered as only

indefinite outlines of their doctrines, which remained for some time in an uncertain state, and without assuming any definite form. Their school was disunited, and still wavering on what foundation it should finally determine its creed. It arrived, however, at the following conclusions, that Christ was not a real God; that the Holy Ghost had not a divine nature; that the mediation of our Saviour was human; and that baptism had no sanctity; in fact, it was overthrowing revelation, and assigning to Christianity a human origin. Its progress was nevertheless very rapid, and it menaced the Helvetian church, in the bosom of which it had taken birth, with total subversion.

The Helvetian church, which was predominant amongst the nobles of Little Poland and Lithuania, and which acquired a new strength from its union with the Bohemian Brethren of Grand Poland, felt its danger, but resolved to make a bold stand against an enemy risen from amongst its own children. Geneva strongly admonished the Polish reformed churches vigorously to defend themselves against the attacks of the anti-Trinitarians, and Beza openly advised to coerce them with the sword. But sanguinary measures were impossible in Poland, it remained only to combat them by argument and synods.

Efforts of the reformed church of Poland to combat these dangerous doctrines, and violent advice given to it by the reformers of Switzerland.

The dogma of the Trinity was also attacked by George Blandrata, an Italian of great learning,

Blandrata, and his influence on the progress of

who having arrived in Poland gained such credit amongst the Protestants that he was elected one of the superintendents of the Helvetian churches of Little Poland.* The synod of Pinczow, in 1558, endeavoured to silence all those dangerous innovations which were broached by Stancari, Blandrata, and Lismanini. The doctrine of the Trinity was strenously defended by Laski and

anti-Trinitarianism in Poland.

* George Blandrata was born in the marquisate of Saluzzo, in Piedmont. He embraced the profession of a physician, and his great talents united with a lively wit, agreeable manners, and an advantageous appearance, insured to him a great success, and rendered him a favourite with many eminent persons. Having embraced the doctrines of the Reformation, he retired to Geneva, but having manifested anti-Trinitarian opinions, he thought it prudent to retire from Switzerland, and arrived in Poland in 1556. Notwithstanding the admonitions of Calvin, the reformed churches of Little Poland received Blandrata with distinction, and entrusted him with important offices in their administration. In 1563 he left Poland, having accepted the place of physician to John Sigismund, prince of Transylvania. His profession giving him an easy access to the prince as well as to the first families in the country, afforded him great facilities for propagating his doctrines. He succeeded so far in his object, that after a public disputation which he held, in conjunction with Paul Davidi, a celebrated Unitarian, against the Lutheran ministers at Weissenburg, and which lasted ten days, the prince and the chief nobles of the country embraced his doctrines. After the death of John Sigismund he returned to Poland, and was physician to king Stephen Battory. He afterwards abandoned the anti-Trinitarian opinions, and joined the Reformed church. He was murdered about 1590, by his own nephew.

Stanislav Sarnicki, chaplain to Bonar, castellan of Biecz. Their pious efforts did not, however, succeed in silencing their adversaries, who considered the synod of Pinczow as having led to the development of their doctrines.* At the synod of Pinczow, 25th April 1559, Laski and Sarnicki, two strenuous antagonists of the anti-Trinitarians, who presided at it, ordered that all the ministers should make a confession of their creed about the Trinity and its persons. This measure could not remedy the growing evil, and Remigius Chelmicki presented to the synod held at Pinczow, on the 20th to the 22d of November the same year, his work, in which he advised the abolishment of the invocation of the Holy Spirit, denying its divinity. This opinion was also supported by Peter Statorius, a Frenchman, † although with more moderation. The same subject was debated at the synods of Sandomir and Vlodzislav; and at that of Xionz in 1560, where the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the reformed churches was organized. The partizans of the

* Statorius says that the synod of Pinczov made, "*magnum ingressum ad demoliendum dogma Trinitatis.*" The same opinion is maintained by Lubieniecki.

† Statorius was born at Thionville in France, and arrived in Poland in 1559, where he was naturalized by the Diet as a noble, and took the name of Stoinski. He studied under Beza, but embraced the opinions of Servetus. He is the author of the first Polish Grammar.

anti-Trinitarian opinions endeavoured to give to the laity a superiority over the clergy, in the government of the church, to deprive the ministers of all influence, and to limit them to the office of teaching. They did not succeed in their object; but their influence must have been great, as Blandrata was elected superintendent of all the reformed churches of Little Poland, which gave him great facilities for spreading his opinions.

The reformed churches of Poland were in the greatest danger of being wholly perverted by the fast-spreading anti-Trinitarianism. This danger was increased by the death of their most eminent champion, John Laski, who was a host in the defence of the Reformation against its external and internal enemies. Providence had left to them, however, some strenuous defenders, who opposed with unabated zeal and undaunted courage the evil which was progressing with an apparently irresistible force, and which had infected many of the most eminent members of the reformed church. Andreas Trzecieski, Stanislav Sarnicki, Sylvius (Lesniowolski), and Felix of Szczebrzeszyn, exerted themselves to the utmost of their power in order to prevent a division in their church, which could not be but very prejudicial to the great cause of the Reformation. They sought advice and support from Switzerland as the head-fountain of their doctrines, and they found the

reformers of Zurich and Geneva ready to assist them in that emergency

The opinions of Stancari about the mediation of our Saviour had been condemned by Melancthon, Bullinger, P. Martyr, and Beza, and this condemnation was approved by the churches of Geneva and Zurich in 1561. Blandrata, whose opinions were much more anti-Trinitarian than those of Stancari, clothed them with expressions borrowed from the Gospel, and propagated them with great caution. Apparently he did not abandon the orthodox creed; but subscribing to it, explained it in a manner of his own. He made an apology for his belief at the synod of Xionz, and was acknowledged to be orthodox.* This feigned orthodoxy of Blandrata, which deceived the Polish reformers, did not impose on the sagacity of Calvin, who disbelieved the sincerity of his profession, and urgently admonished the churches of Poland not to trust the Italian.† Experience fully

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* "*Nec volumus a consensu ecclesiarum vestrarum discedere. Blandrata nostræ confessioni uno subscripuisse.*"—Letter of Felix of Szczebrzeszyn, addressed to Calvin in the name of the synod of Xionz, dated August 3, 1541.

† Vide Calvin's letters to Felix of Szczebrzeszyn and the ministers of Little Poland, as well as his epistle to the church of Vilna. He says: "*magni vobis est existimatio Blandratæ: vos admiramini non secus atque angelum de cælo delapsum: immodica vestra facilitate male ecclesiis vestris fuerit consultum, cæpit*

justified the fears of Calvin, because Blandrata, who enjoyed a very great influence in Poland, employed it with considerable effect in propagating his errors, with which he infected many eminent personages.

The admonitions of Calvin were not without effect, although the synod of Vilna received them with displeasure. Prince Radziwill, under whose direction it was deliberating, disapproved the proceedings of Calvin, and, instead of considering Blandrata as a heretic, entrusted him as his plenipotentiary to the synod of Pinczow, in 1561. The anti-Trinitarians were not less bold in that synod, pretending that their doctrine was the orthodox one. R. Chelmicki renewed his confession about the invocation of the Holy Spirit, and Statorius undertook the defence of Blandrata, advising to disbelieve the admonitions of Calvin. The synod listened only to the opposite doctrines, without venturing on any decision.

The synod of Cracow, 10th December 1561, was more explicit. The admonitions of Calvin were read, and the doctrines of Blandrata and Lismanini were rejected, according to the advice

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cœpit per ambages questionem trahere fidei nostræ articulum de deitate Christi; sua somnia sparsit apud imperitos."

He addressed at the same time Blandrata himself, reproaching him, in a rather harsh language, for his duplicity:— "*Vultus tuum detestabile monstrum, mihi ostendit quod in corde occultum faves,*" &c.

of Sarnicki. The synods of Pinczow, held on the 25th June and 20th November 1561, and that of Vlodislav, on the 2st October of the same year, deliberated on that subject without coming to any decisive conclusion. The synod of Xionz, on the 10th March 1562, produced an apparent approximation of the contending parties, although in fact it was favourable to the anti-Trinitarians. The opinions of Blandrata gained new adherents, but the synod did not pass any decisive resolution on that subject, which it left to a more general assembly. But to the synod of Pinczow, convened the same year, on the 21st April, Blandrata presented his confession of faith, composed entirely with orthodox expressions. He denied the charge of polytheism made against his doctrines, and expressed his wish to the synod that Calvin might be permitted to confess Christ as the son of God, without any further explanations.* The synod passed such a resolution, as if it wished to conceal its real opinions, or to prevent at any price a schism, All researches about the Trinity, mediation, incarnation, were to be abandoned : all expresions unknown to the primitive church were prohibited. The ministers were to preach the pure words of the Gospel, unadulterated by any human

* Sandius. This synod was composed of twenty-eight ministers and twelve lay patrons.—Lubieniecki.

explanations. The decisions of the councils held after the apostolical times were declared not binding. Sarnicki, who perceived that this resolution was passed in order to conceal the real opinions of its framers, proposed that all the ministers maintaining the supremacy of the Father over the Son should resign their offices, but his proposition was rejected, by which the anti-Trinitarian bias of the synod became evident.

Gregory Pauli gives to the anti-Trinitarian doctrines a more complete development.

Blandrata left Poland and retired to Transylvania; but his place was occupied by Gregorius Pauli, of Brzeziny, who had already manifested his anti-Trinitarian opinions at the synod of Secemin, in 1556, when they were proclaimed by Gonesius. Being accused at the synod of Pinczow on that account, he threw off every disguise, and proclaimed from the pulpit his opinions respecting the mystery of the Trinity. He rejected the Nicean creed, and the doctrine of the first five œcumenic councils. He went even much further than Gonesius and Arius, maintaining that Christ did not exist before his birth, and consequently reduced him to the condition of man. He condemned the baptism of infants, and maintained that Christ had abolished the temporal powers, that death did not separate the soul from the body, and that the body did not in reality die; that the holy Scriptures do not establish any difference between the

resurrection of the soul and of the body, but they will both have a common resurrection. That the spirit formed not a separate and independent substance. That God has raised from the dead the body of Christ, which entered heaven. That the doctrine about the death of the body was introduced by the Antichrist, who established by it purgatory and the invocation of the saints. Pauli was also inclined to a community of goods. These daring propositions were strenuously opposed by Sarnicki and the orthodox party, which was strong at that synod. They boldly denounced the doctrine of Pauli as dangerous, and subversive of Christianity itself. The synod separated, however, without giving any final decision, but a war from the pulpit was begun about that subject. The synod of Rogow, in July 1562, convened for the purpose of conciliating the parties, evinced a leaning to the doctrines of Pauli, and that of Pinczow (August 1562) was composed of a majority of his adherents; but Sarnicki refused to acknowledge its authority. Another synod, which met at the same place (November the 4th 1562), tried to preserve a union, by a proposition that the confession of the Helvetian church should be signed, but that it should be permitted to examine and to explain it without any limitation. This proposition was rejected by the orthodox party. But the conference of Piotrkow, which was held the same year, established a final sepa-

ration, as the anti-Trinitarian party, guided by the ministers, Pauli, Stanislav Lutomirski, Martinus Krowicki, George Shoman, and the nobles, John Niemojowski, Hieronymus Filipowski and John Kazanowski, solemnly declared their rejection of the mystery of the Trinity.

The reformed synod of Cracow, in 1563, formally condemns the doctrines of the anti-Trinitarians, and establishes a final separation from them.

Sarnicki, supported by the influence of Bonar, castellan of Biecz, and of Myszkowski, palatine of Cracow, assembled, on the 14th May 1563, at the last-named capital, a synod of the staunch adherents of the Helvetian church. It condemned in an unqualified manner the anti-Trinitarian doctrines,* and summoned Pauli, who was minister of the congregation of Cracow, to resign his office. He was obliged to comply with this injunction, but remained for some time at the head of a separate congregation, which had embraced his opinions.†

The anti-Trinitarians were not intimidated by that solemn condemnation of their doctrine by

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* The most distinguished defenders of the reformed confession at that synod were, the castellans of Cracow and Zawichost, Firley, palatine of Lublin, Joachim Lubomirski, and Justus Decius, secretary to the king.—Vide Lubieniecki.

† Pauli was of Italian descent, but born in Poland. After having for some time directed an anti-Trinitarian congregation at Cracow, he retired to Pinczow, whence he passed to Racow, and presided over the congregation of that place until his death, in 1591. He advocated all his life the doctrine, that a Christian should neither accept of civil offices nor bear arms.

the synod of Cracow, pronounced on the 14th May 1563, and they convoked, a few days afterwards, and in the same capital, a synod of their own, presided over by Lutomirski, and composed of twenty ministers and three lay patrons: it declared the resolutions of the other synod null and void, and made an appeal against them to a synod which was to be convened in the month of September of the same year. They published an apology of their creed, and invited the churches of Podlachia and Lithuania, many of which shared their errors, to join them, in order to define better the doctrine and the hierarchy. The projected synod of Cracow did not take place; but that which was held at Mordy (a little town in Podlachia) on the 6th of June 1563, against the Helvetian church, manifested a completely organized party. Forty-two ministers signed a confession, denying the divinity of Christ, although they left the expression of Trinity in order not to frighten away some less bold minds.*

Anti-Trinitarian synod of Mordy.

The anti-Trinitarians began to be known under the name of Pinczovians, as the town of Pinczow had become their principal school. Although they united in their chief dogma the

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* The synod says, in its address to prince Radziwill: "*Vocabulum Trinitatis non omnino redciere potuimus, propter aliquos infirmiores.*"—Vide Lubieniecki.

superiority of the Father over the Son, they disagreed amongst themselves on many other points. For instance, the baptism of infants was condemned by Gonesius, Albin, Pulchranius, rector of the school of Bychawa, Paklewski, pastor of Lublin, Hieronymus Piekarski, but principally by Martinus Czechowicz, an eminent writer of that party; but it was defended by Symon Zacki, superintendent of Vilna, and by some others. The synod of Brest in Cujavia, the 10th June 1565, composed of thirty-two ministers, mitigated a little that dispute, but did not pass any final resolution on that subject. The synod of Wengrow (25th December 1565), composed of forty-seven ministers and eighteen eminent noblemen, besides a great number of inferior personages, may be considered as one of the most important anti-Trinitarian assemblies. It was acknowledged by the churches of the districts of Szydlowietz, Lublin, Chelm, and Brest, and the synod of the churches in the Carpathian mountains sent to it its full powers. A letter of the Transylvanian churches was publicly read, and many individuals belonging to the first families joined on that occasion the anti-Trinitarian churches. We may mention amongst them Barbara, lady to Kiszka, palatine of Witepsk, and Anne, princess Radziwill. The synod rejected the baptism of infants, on the plea that it was neither used by the primitive church,

Synod of Wengrow.

nor commanded by the Gospels; but it did not positively prohibit it, and left it to the conscience of individuals, recommending charity and mutual forbearance. This resolution was rejected by the church of Vilna, which defended the baptism of infants. The doctrine of the baptism of adults was put into practice at that synod, and Czechowicz administered it by immersion to James Niemojowski.

Principal tenets of their sect.

The anti-Trinitarian church was entirely constituted in 1565; it had its synods, ministers, schools, and a complete ecclesiastical organization. The principal tenets of that church, embodied in its confession, published in 1574,* were as follows: "God has made the Christ, *i. e.* the most perfect prophet, the most sacred priest, the invincible king, by whom he has created the new world. This new world is the new birth, which Christ has preached, established, and performed. Christ has amended the old order of things, and granted to his elected eternal life, that they might, after God the most high, believe in him.

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* "*Catechisis et confessio fidei coetus per Poloniam congregati in nomine Jesu Christi, domini nostri, crucifixi et resuscitati;*" —typis Alexandri Turobicki, in 1574, 12mo. 160 pages. This work, which is exceedingly rare, is supposed to have been written by Gregory Shoman, and printed at Cracow. It is composed with the expressions of the Gospel: "*dolose selectis et perverse addictis,*" as Walchius says. Vide his Bibliotheca Theologica.

The Holy Spirit is not God, but a gift, the fulness of which the Father has granted to his Son." The same confession prohibited to take oaths, or to sue before tribunals for any injury whatever. Sinners were to be admonished, but neither penalties nor any other kind of persecution should ever be inflicted. The church reserved only to itself the right of excluding refractory members. Baptism was to be administered only to adults, and considered as the sign of purification, which changes the old Adam into a heavenly one. The Eucharist was understood in the same manner as by the churches of Zurich.

These doctrines were rapidly spreading, and many of the first persons in Poland became infected with them.* They attracted the notice of all the country, and it was in order to make an exposition of the differences which divided the Helvetian church from the Pinczovians that Modrzewski wrote, by the command of Sigismund Augustus, his *Sylvæ*.† He evinced in that work an anti-Trinitarian bias, although he did not approve the doctrines of the Pinczovians. The king issued, with the Diet of 1565, an ordinance that a public conference should take place, in order to pacify the reformed churches. There was no reasonable hope of attaining that object

* "The Diet was filled with Arians," says Bielski.

† Vide page 201.

by such means; but the conference took place in 1566, at a Diet held at Piotrkow.

Public disputation between the reformed and the anti-Trinitarians, held at the Diet of Piotrkow in 1566.

The conference was held in a solemn manner. The Helvetian churches were represented on that occasion by Sarnicki, Sylvius (Lesniowolski), Andreas Prazmowski, Christopher Trzecieski, rector of the school of Cracow, and John Rokita, minister of the Bohemian community at Kozmin. John Firley, palatine of Lublin, grand marshal of the crown, John Tomicki castellan of Gnezno, and James Ostrorog were chosen as judges and witnesses by the same church. Stanislav Myszkowski, castellan of Sandomir, was chosen by the same the director, and Nicholaus Dluski the secretary of the conference. The anti-Trinitarian party were represented by Gregory Pauli, minister of Racow, Gregory Shoman, minister of Lublin, Stanislav Paulewski, minister of the same place, Stanislav Lutomirski, superintendent of the anti-Trinitarian churches of Little Poland, John Lutomirski, castellan of Sieradz, Nicholaus Siennicki, surnamed for his eloquence the Demosthenes of Poland, and at that time marshal or chairman of the chamber of nuncios (house of commons). The direction was entrusted to Hieronymus Filipowski, and John Kazanowski was chosen secretary.

The Lutheran party did not take any part in that conference. The Roman Catholics, invited by the king to co-operate in the defence of the prin-

cipal dogma of the Christian religion, seemed at first to be inclined to join the conference; but afterwards refused, under pretence that the Roman see forbade to local assemblies the discussion of matters of faith. There were four public meetings, in which the mystery of the Trinity was debated. The delegates of the Reformed churches defended it by the authority of the Gospel, supported by that of the fathers and of the first œcumenic councils. The anti-Trinitarians rejected the fathers as well as the councils in defending their doctrine. Gregory Pauli was their principal orator, and the leader of their party on that occasion.*

The meeting produced no effect, as both parties retained their former convictions. It is remarkable that the report of that conference was made to the king and the senate by Firley, palatine of Lublin, a staunch adherent of the Helvetian church, and to the chamber of nuncios by Sienicki, an anti-Trinitarian. We conclude for the present this sketch of the anti-Trinitarian sect in Poland, as we shall give our readers, in the second volume of this work, a detailed account of their further and ultimate development, until their final expulsion from the country.

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* "*Placuit magnæ parti nobilitatis, rege Sigismundo permittente, colloquium de religione instituere Gregorius Paulus dux hæresis.*" Possevini Opera Coloniæ, 1587-95.

CHAPTER IX.

EFFORTS MADE BY THE PROTESTANTS TO EFFECT A UNION OF THEIR CHURCHES, AND ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THAT OBJECT, BY THE CONSENT OF SANDOMIR (CONSENSUS SANDOMIRIENSIS).

NOTWITHSTANDING the disturbances created in the reformed church by the anti-Trinitarians, and the deep injury which it inflicted on the cause of the Reformation in Poland, the Protestants did not lose sight of the important project of uniting the three churches of Poland, *viz.* the Reformed or Helvetian, the Bohemian, or, as it was often called, the Valdensian, and the Lutheran. This union once firmly established, would have given to the Protestant party an irresistible strength, and insured its speedy triumph over the Roman church, which was enabled to resist their attacks not so much by its own strength as by the deplorable dissensions of its antagonists.

An important step towards the attainment of that great object was made by the union of the Helvetian with the Bohemian churches, effected by the synod of Kozminek in 1555,* and which deserved the warmest applause of the most eminent reformers of Europe.† This union was confirmed by the synod of Pinczov in 1556, that of Vlodislav in 1557 and that of Xionz in 1560. The united churches endeavoured to extend their alliance to the Lutherans, and the synod of Vlodislav, presided over by the celebrated John Laski, or à Lasco, invited the Lutherans to join their union, but the invitation remained without effect. Laski enjoyed a paramount influence over the reformed churches of Poland, and he may be considered as having contributed the most to their establishment in his native land, and to the preponderance which they acquired over the other Protestant churches of that country. But he was by no means popular with the Lutherans; and we have already had ample opportunity, in giving a sketch of the life and labours of that eminent reformer, to mention the persecutions to which he had been exposed by the bigoted Lutherans.

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* Vide page 342.

† "*De vestro cum Valdensibus*" (Bohemian Brethren), *consensu optima quæque spero vobis omnibus sedulo danda est opera ut hæc pia conspiratio magis ac magis sanciatur.*"—Letter of Calvin to Karminski.

The hatred which the Lutherans of Germany and Denmark bore to Laski was communicated to those of Poland, and they rejected the invitation of the above-mentioned synod. The attempt which was made at the Lutheran synod of Gluchow in 1557, to promote that great object, instead of appeasing rather increased the difficulties. The united churches delegated to that synod, as their representatives, the Bohemian ministers Israel, Drzewinski, Laurentius, and Rokita; but Laski, who probably had foreseen the irritation of the Lutherans, did not join it. Experience proved that he was right in following that course, as the Lutherans read publicly at that synod the work of Westphalus, which, as we have already mentioned,* was a bitter and unmerited invective against Laski. This preposterous step naturally gave offence to the followers of the Helveto-Bohemian churches, and increased the difficulties to the accomplishment of a union between them and the Lutherans. The Bohemian church was meanwhile rapidly increasing under the direction of George Israel, whose great merit and devotion to its cause rendered him worthy of becoming its ruler. Its synod, which assembled at Slezany in Moravia, was composed of no less than two hundred ministers from Moravia and Poland, besides

Opposition of the Lutherans to the union of the three Protestant churches of Poland.

* Vide page 265.

many noblemen and other laymen from both countries. The Lutherans did not, however, cease to attack it with accusations of heresy, and the Bohemian church, which had much at heart the union of all Protestants, adopted a wise measure in order to obtain a solemn and decisive evidence of its orthodoxy. It sent a deputation to the Protestant churches of Germany with the object of restoring the spiritual community established with Luther,* and to remove by it the ill-will of his followers which impeded the accomplishment of the desired union. The deputation, composed of James Rokita and Peter Herbert, was favourably received by Wolfgang, palatine of the Rhine, as well as by Christopher, duke of Wirtemberg; and the confession of their church was found free from errors, and comformable to the doctrines of the Gospel. The duke of Wirtemberg recommended by his letters the Bohemian church to Nicholaus prince Radziwill, Lukas Gorka, palatine of Posnania, and Stanislav Ostrorog. Rokita returned to Poland furnished with evidence sufficient to repel the attacks of the Lutherans at home and abroad; but Herbert extended his journey, and visited the most eminent reformers and the principal Protestant schools of Germany and Switzerland, in order to submit to their approbation the confession of his

A deputation is sent by the Bohemian Brethren to the chief reformers of Europe, who approve their confession.

* Vide page 148.

church: he fully attained his object, and Sulcer at Basil, Peter Martyr and Bullinger at Zurich, Calvin, Viret, and Beza at Geneva, and Musculus at Berne, gave a most flattering evidence in its favour. Such eminent authorities silenced for a time the ill-will of the Lutherans, and they sent delegates to the synod of Xionz in September 1560; but these delegates remained passive auditors, instead of taking an active part at the deliberations of the synod, because, as they said, they came only in order to listen and to investigate, and not to direct, as they had no powers for concluding a religious communion. This synod introduced the final organization of the united churches, and strengthened their alliance by a more precise definition of some points. The views of the united churches were somewhat advanced at the synod of Posnania assembled on the 1st November of the same year, and which was very numerous, being composed of many noblemen and ministers from Grand and Little Poland. The Lutherans showed themselves less obstinately adverse to the establishment of a union, and the eighth canon of that synod recommended to seek the means of accomplishing this desideratum. The greatest obstacle to the union was the strict dogmatical spirit of the Lutherans, who refused to surrender even points of minor importance. They exacted the most absolute identity, and could not be satisfied with a perfect

Synods of Xionz and Posnania convened in order to promote that union.

similarity of doctrines. The understanding which was beginning to be established was moreover troubled by foreign instigations. Illiricus Flacius* had already sent (1558,) an emissary to Poland, in order to prevent the projected union, and his adherents zealously promoted this object. The influence of Illiricus Flacius was however overcome, and foreign malevolence would not have injured the accomplishment of the union, if it had not been equally impeded by domestic agitation. The Bohemian Brethren established their church at Thorn as early as in 1549, although they could not publicly perform divine service. Morgenstern, the Lutheran pastor of St. Mary's church in that place, a man of a quarrelsome temper and of a narrow and bigoted mind, eyed with aversion the Bohemian church independent of his jurisdiction, and endeavoured to subject it to his authority. The brethren refused to acknowledge his pretensions, and persisted in main-

Morgenstern, the Lutheran pastor of Thorn, a zealous opponent of the Bohemian Brethren.

* Illiricus Flacius, whose real name was Francowich, was a Slavonian, born in 1520, at Albona in Illyria. After having studied under Luther and Melancthon, he became, in 1544, professor of Hebrew at Wittenberg; whence having been driven twice, he received the professorship of divinity at Jena, in 1557. The theological quarrels in which he took a violent part, exposed him to many persecutions, and obliged him frequently to change the place of his residence. He died in 1575, and he acquired a justly earned reputation for having been the founder of the *Centuriæ Magdeburgensis*, (the first Protestant work on Ecclesiastical History.)

taining their ancient confession, as well as their ecclesiastical discipline, much more strict and pure than that by which the Lutherans were governed at that time. After many delays, Laurentius, minister of the Bohemians, openly stated the reasons wherefore they refused to submit their congregation to the direction of the Lutherans. He declared that there was no real reform of manners amongst the followers of the Augustan confession; that their priests could not, on account of their not very pious life, serve as patterns to the church; that this church did not possess an organized hierarchy, that a great disunion prevailed amongst its members, and that its doctrines and ceremonies were in a state of confusion. Finally, the Bohemians complained that the Lutheran clergy were appointed by civil authorities, regarding it as injurious to the independence as well as the spiritual direction of the church. Laurentius did not, however, decidedly reject a union, but he referred it to the supreme authority of his church. Morgenstern, provoked by this opposition to his authority, attacked the Bohemians from the pulpit and charged them with heresy. After some discussions the Bohemians resolved, for the sake of maintaining peace amongst the Protestants, to submit their church to the authority of the Lutherans, but they stipulated for the preservation of its internal organization. This compact was

made at the conference of the 8th October 1563. Many Bohemians, however, avoided the Lutheran service, which caused Morgenstern to preach against them some very harsh sermons. Since that time the Bohemian church of Thorn seems to have dwindled away, as Lutheranism became entirely predominant at that place; and Morgenstern resigned also his functions in 1567, perhaps being compelled to take this step by his ungovernable temper, which created him many enemies.

The Lutherans continued to show on many occasions their ill will to the Bohemians, but at their synod, assembled at Posnania on the 28th January 1567, it was manifested with particular violence. Erasmus Gliczner, superintendent of the Lutheran churches of Grand Poland, who presided over that synod, supposed that the Bohemians might be prevailed upon to frame their confession entirely according to the Lutheran tenets, and he urged the Bohemian representatives, Laurentius and Israel, to accept the confession of Augsburg, representing that it was received by the Protestants of Germany. Israel did not attack the above-mentioned confession, but he defended that of his church as untainted by any errors contrary to the Gospel, and which, by submitting to the dogmatical definitions of the Lutheran divines, would by the same acknowledge that it had been hitherto in

The Lutheran synod of Posnania accuses the Bohemian Brethren of maintaining heretical tenets.

error. The Bohemians demanded that the Lutherans should point out those differences and errors of their church, by which they were offended, and promised to give a satisfactory answer to all the objections. The synod promised to enumerate the dogmatical errors of the Bohemian church, and to give a judgment of their confession. The synod did not adopt, however, any resolution to that purpose during its meetings, at it was only after they had been concluded that the Bohemians received a string of accusations against their confession. They were written by Morgenstern, and there is a doubt whether he had not done it without the authorization of the synod. The Bohemian church was accused of the following errors: That it did not believe that Christ was invisibly present on the earth; that its doctrine concerning the mission of the Holy Ghost was very near that of the Tritheists, because they believed that he dwelt amongst the faithful in lieu of the personal presence of Christ. That it considered itself as the only one Catholic orthodox church. That its doctrine about repentance was erroneous, as they maintained that contrition, which is the first part of repentance, was produced by faith, whilst on the contrary faith followed contrition. That it exacted from the catechumens a repetition of the promise made at their baptism, which was in some measure a repetition of the baptism

itself, and a papistical and anabaptistical error; that it ascribed salvation only to good works, and consequently condemned the confession of Augsburg, which maintains that good works are not necessary for obtaining salvation, because it was wrought solely by faith. It maintained that sermons were not the word of God; that it did not teach, with the orthodox church, that man was justified only by the grace of God. That the same church, by its confession presented in 1504 to Vladislav Jaguellon, king of Bohemia, established in common with the Antichrist seven sacraments; that it denied the real and true presence of Christ under the figure of bread and wine; and finally, that it rejected the civil authorities, and instituted for its members its own independent jurisdiction.*

Answer of the Bohemian Brethren to that accusation.

The Bohemians immediately published an answer to that accusation. They expressed that their church did not deny the invisible presence of Jesus Christ in this world; that its doctrine about the Holy Ghost was in accordance with the Gospel of St. John, chapter xiv. ver. 26, and chap. xvi. ver. 7; that the Bohemian

* These accusations were embodied in a work entitled:—"*Amica et fraterna adnotatio nævorum et verborum minus recte positorum, in confessione fratrum quos Valdenses vocant, proposita in synodo Posnaniæ,* 28 *Junii* 1567, *celebrato a ministris confessionæ Augustanæ iisdem fratribus Valdensibus in duodecim partes distincta.*"

church considered itself only as a part of the Catholic church, and called its own that number of faithful who were under its superintendence. It maintained that repentance should be preceded by the acknowledgment of the law and of sin (*fides generalis*), but that contrition was followed by confidence (*fides specialis*). A catechumen was obliged on approaching the communion table to renew the obligation which the sponsors had accepted for him at his baptism. Good works were considered as fruits of a living faith, which every Christian was obliged to do; not that he might obtain by this the pardon of his sins, but in order to prove his obedience to God and the sincerity of his faith. Sermons in accordance with the Gospels are the word of God. It is grace and not good works which operates salvation. The Bohemian church at the time of Huss admitted seven sacraments; but the confession presented to king Ferdinand acknowledged only two, viz. the baptism and the eucharist, whilst the apology of the Augustan confession admitted, besides the two above-mentioned sacraments, that of absolution. The Bohemian church believed that the eucharist was received only sacramentally by the spirit, and not carnally. It acknowledged the civil magistrates, although it endeavoured to settle minor differences amongst their members by its own autho-

rities, leaving the more important to the laws of the country.* This apology of the Bohemian church did not satisfy the Lutherans, who found therein some obscurity, and pretended that it was not in accordance with a strictly evangelical confession. It was therefore agreed on both sides that it should be submitted to the judgment of the divines of Wittenberg, which was to be final; and should it prove favourable, no new objections against the union of the Bohemian and Lutheran churches of Poland were to be raised.

The Bohemian church deputed Laurentius, and gave him as an assistant John Polykarpus. They were most favourably received, February 18th 1568, by the theological faculty of Wittenberg, composed of Paul Eber, at that time dean of the faculty, George Major, Paul Crellius, and the celebrated Caspar Peucer,† who, although he was not in orders, exerted a great influence

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* This answer is entitled:—"*Responsio brevis et sincera fratrum quos Valdenses vocant ad nævos ex apologia ipsorum exceptos a ministris confessioni Augustanæ, &c. &c.*" It was written by Laurentius.

† Caspar Peucer, son-in-law of Melancthon, born at Bautzen in Saxony, 1525, was one of the most learned men of his time. Being accused of crypto-Calvinism, or of secretly maintaining the tenets of Calvin, he was thrown by the strict Lutheran party into a severe prison, where he remained for many years. When released, he retired to the duke of Anhalt-Zerbst

The dispute is referred to the judgment of the divines of Wittenberg, who decide it in favour of the Bohemians.

on matters connected with divinity. The apology of the Bohemian church was examined and declared orthodox, and in accordance with the confession of Augsburg. Eber said, in a speech which he held on that occasion, "the brethren of Bohemia and Moravia professed since long time a pure doctrine; they believe the same that we do, although they have retained some outward ceremonies, dissimilar from those which are used by us. They are neither Anabaptists nor enemies of the faith. It is wrong to act against them either in public or in private, and to abuse them from the pulpits. They are our brethren, and deserving of our Christian good-will."

The school of Wittenberg did not exercise at that time a decisive authority over the Lutheran churches, of which many accused it, as also of leaning to the doctrines of the Helvetian church, or being, as it was called, infected by Philipism.* The divines of Wittenberg felt their delicate position, and Eber, in promising to the delegates of the Bohemian church a most satisfactory evidence of

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Anhalt-Zerbst, and died in 1602, as his phisician. He was no less distinguished by his science, than by the morality of his character.

* Melancthon was much suspected of a strong bias to the doctrine of Calvin, about the Lord's supper, and these opinions, which were entertained by several divines of Wittenberg, were called on that account Philipism (from Philip Melancthon), or crypto-Calvinism.

their orthodoxy, did not conceal from them his fears that it might not produce the desired effect. "The school of Wittenberg" said he, "is unable to exact obedience from those seditious minds, whose unbridled turbulence it is impossible to control by any restraint." He deplored at the same time the dissensions amongst the Lutheran churches and their pretended followers, expressing that he should prefer a quiet retreat to the direction of the school of Wittenberg. In his letter addressed to Israel, chief of the Bohemian church in Poland, he bitterly complained of those disturbers, who by their falsehoods and scurrility disturbed the peace of the church, and like rabid dogs did not spare even the dead. The evidence of the school of Wittenberg, signed by P. Eber, G. Major, and Crellius, may be considered as a sentence passed on the accusations of the Lutheran synod of Posnania against the Bohemian church of Poland. After having deplored that the followers of the confession of Augsburg, had caused a disunion amongst the Protestant churches, it declared that the confession of the Bohemian church contained a pure doctrine, and that it had no obscurities; that the Bohemian and Lutheran churches were for a long time united by the bonds of a spiritual community; and that Luther himself had solemnly revoked, in 1542, the unfavourable opinion which he had expressed on a former occasion, and had given the most flattering

evidence in its favour.* It firmly declared, that the accusations of the synod of Posnania were null and void, and recommended to those who had preferred them, that henceforward they should be more just, as was becoming the teachers of a divine religion.

The sentence of the school of Wittenberg seems to have produced a better effect than its framers had anticipated, and the Lutherans desisted after that time from their attacks on the Bohemian church. The union between the Protestant churches of Poland was now rapidly advancing, and the town of Sandomir was chosen for the convocation of a synod, where the deputies of the above-mentioned churches were to meet together in order to accomplish that important work.

The year 1569 was marked by one of the most important events of our history, the union of Poland and Lithuania, accomplished by the Diet of Lublin.† The principal noblemen belonging

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* Vide page 148.

† Lithuania and Poland were hitherto united only by a common sovereign, who was hereditary in the first and elective in the second of those countries. By the act of the union the king resigned his hereditary rights to Lithuania, and became elective monarch of both the countries, whose legislative body was united into one, although their administration, laws, and military establishment remained separate. This order of things lasted, with a few modifications, till the dissolution of Poland.

to the three Protestant communions of Poland, assembled at that Diet, resolved to promote by all means a union of their respective churches, and to accomplish it in the following year, expecting that Sigismund Augustus, who had many times expressed a wish to see such a union effected, would at last be decided to embrace Protestantism. The king gave at that Diet a kind of solemn countenance to Protestantism, by assisting with all his court, senate, and foreign ministers, at the funeral of a Protestant, the grand general of the crown, Sieniawski, a celebrated warrior, who died at the advanced age of eighty-one.

The synod of Posnania, February 13th 1570, and that of Vilna, March 2d in the same year, prepared the ground for the intended union by removing many difficulties thrown in its way by the Lutheran divines.

The synod of Sandomir, in 1570, effects the desired union.

The synod of Sandomir was composed of several noblemen and ministers belonging to the three Protestant churches of Poland. Those who held anti-Trinitarian doctrines were excluded from any participation in its deliberations. Myszkowski, palatine of Cracow, Zborowski, palatine of Sandomir, and Stanislav Ivan Karminski, were elected from the lay members, as presidents of the synod, and from the clergy, Gilowski and Prazmowski, ministers of the Helvetian church, and Sokolowski, minister of

the same confession, was chosen secretary. The meetings of the synod began on the 9th April, and lasted till the 14th of the same month. Great difficulties were raised by the two brothers, Erasmus and Nicholaus Gliczner, who were the leaders of the Lutheran party, and who insisted on the confession of Augsburg being received by the Helvetian as well as the Bohemian churches. This, of course, could not be acceded to by the other parties, and there was great danger that the synod would have separated without having attained the object of its convocation. At last, the efforts of the palatines of Cracow and Sandomir (Myszkowski and Zborowski), who entreated the parties not to injure by their dissensions the cause of the Reformation in the presence of such a formidable enemy as the Roman Catholic church, and who at the same time hinted at the possibility that the king himself might join that cause, having been hitherto prevented from making that step by the deplorable dissensions which divided the Protestants amongst themselves, produced the desired effects; the Lutherans desisted from their opposition, and the following agreement between the representatives of the Helveto-Bohemian and Lutheran churches of Poland was signed on the 14th April 1570.

Act of the consent of Sandomir.

" Act of the religious union between the churches of Grand and Little Poland, Russia, Lithuania and Samogitia, which had hitherto appeared to differ from each other in respect to the confessions of Augsburg, Bohemia, and Switzerland, concluded at Sandomir on the 14th April 1570.

" After many and long disputes with the sects of Tritheists, Ebionites and Anabaptists,* and having been delivered by divine mercy from all those great and deplorable contentions, the reformed orthodox churches of Poland, which (according to the report of the enemies of the truth and Gospel), do not appear to be unanimous in several points and formula of their doctrine, have resolved, from love of peace and concord, to convoke a synod, and to testify a

Consensus Sandomiriensis.

" Consensus mutuus in religionis Christianæ capitibus, inter ecclesias Majoris et Minoris Poloniæ, Russiæ, Lithuaniæ, et Samogitiæ, etc., quæ juxta confessionem Augustanam, Fratrum Bohemiarum, et Helveticam, aliquomodo a se dissentire videbantur; factus in synodo Sandomiriensi, anno domini 1570, 14 Aprilis.

" Posteaquam diu multumque cum sectariis Tritheistis, Ebionistis, Anabaptistis conflictatum erat, ac tandem divinâ favore extat, tantisque certaminibus et deplorandis contentionibus emeruimus visum ut iisdem ecclesias Poloniis reformatis et orthodoxis, quæ in quibusdam capitibus et formulis doctrinæ (hostibus veritatis et evangelii) unanime consentire videbantur,

* By these names were designated the Anti-Trinitarians.

complete unanimity amongst themselves. We have therefore held a friendly and Christian conference, and established with united hearts the following points:—Firstly, that neither we who have delivered at the present synod our creed, nor the Bohemian Brethren, had ever believed that the followers of the confession of Augsburg maintained other than pious and orthodox doctrines about God, the Holy Trinity, the incarnation of the Son of God, the justification, and other principal points of our religion. In the same manner the followers of the confession of Augsburg have sincerely testified that they do not find in the creed of our churches, as well as in that of the Bohemian Brethren (whom some ignorant persons call Waldensians), any doctrines about God, the Holy Trinity, the

pacis et concordiæ studio synodum convocare, atque consensionem mutuam testari. Quare, habita collatione amica et Christiana, ac junctis compositisque animis consentimus in hæc capita.

"Primum, quemadmodum et nos qui in præsenti synodo confessionem nostram edidimus, et fratres nunquam credidimus, eos qui Augustanam confessionem amplectantur, aliter quam pie et orthodoxe sentire de Deo et sancta Trinitate atque incarnatione filii Dei, et justificatione nostra, aliisque capitibus præcipuis fidei nostræ: Ita etiam ii, qui Augustanam confessionem sequuntur, professi sunt candide et sincere se vicissim tam de nostrarum ecclesiarum, quam ac de Fratrum Bohemiarum (quas quidam rerum ignari Waldenses vocant), confessione de Deo et sancta Trinitate, incarnatione filii Dei, justifica-

incarnation of the Son of God, the justification, and other principal points of Christian religion which are not in accordance with true orthodoxy and the pure word of God.

" At the same time we have entered into a mutual and sacred obligation to defend unanimously, and according to the injunctions of the word of God, this our covenant in the true and pure religion of Christ against the followers of the Roman church, the sectarians, as well as all the enemies of truth and Gospel.

" What concerns the unfortunate dispute about the Lord's Supper, we have agreed to maintain the meaning of the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, as they have been expounded by the fathers of the church, and particularly by Ireneus, who says, ' that this mystery consists of two things—one earthly, and the other heavenly. We do not say that they are only elements or vain symbols, but that at the same time they are, in

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tione, et aliis primariis capitibus fidei Christianæ, nil agnoscere, quod sit absonum ab orthodoxâ veritate et puro verbo Dei.

" Ibique, sancte invicem polliciti sumus, unanimiter secundum regulam verbi Dei, nos defensuros consensum hunc mutuum in verâ et purâ Christi religione contra pontificios, contra sectarios, contra denique omnes hostes evangelii et veritatis.

" Deinde veró, quantum ad infelix illud dissidium de Cœna Domini attinet, convenimus in sententia verborum Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ut illa orthodoxe intellecta sunt a Patribus, ac imprimis Irenœo, qui duabus rebus, scilicet terreno et cœlesti, hoc mysterium constare dixit: ' Neque elementa signave nuda

fact, sufficient to the believers, and impart by faith what they signify. And in order to express ourselves with more precision and clearness, we have agreed to believe and to confess that the substantial presence of Christ is not only signified, but really represented in the communion to those who receive it *(vescentibus)*, and that the body and blood of our Lord are distributed and given with the symbols of the thing itself, which, according to the nature of sacraments, are by no means bare signs.

"But, that no disputes should originate from a difference of expressions, it has been resolved to add to the articles inserted into our confession, the article of the confession of the Saxon churches relating to the Lord's Supper, which was sent in 1551 to the council of Trent, and which we acknowledge as pious, and do receive. Its expressions are as follows: 'The Baptism and the

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et vana illa esse asserimus, sed simul, re ipsa, credentibus exhibere et *præstare* fide, quod significant, denique, ut expressius clariusque loquamur, convenimus, ut credamus et confiteamur substantialem præsentiam Christi non significari duntaxat, sed vere in cœna eo vescentibus repræsentari, distribui et exhibere corpus et sanguinem Domini, symbolis adjectis rei ipsi, minime dudis, secundum sacramentorum naturam.'

"Ne vero diversitas formularum loquendi contentionem aliquam pariat, placuit præter articulum qui est insertus nostræ confessioni, mutuo consensu adscribere articulum confessionis Saxonicarum ecclesiarum de Cœna Domini, ad Tridentinum concilium, anno domini M,DLI missæ. Quem etiam pium

Lord's Supper are signs and testimonies of grace, as it has been said before, which remind us of the promise and of the redemption, and show that the benefits of the Gospel belong to all those who make use of these rites,' &c.

" Moreover, that none is admitted to the communion table if he has not previously been examined and absolved by the pastor or his assistant. In such examinations less informed people *(rudiores)* are examined and instructed in all the doctrines of religion before they receive absolution. We also teach men that the sacraments are acts established by God, and that, unless used as it is instituted by the Lord, these things are not of themselves sacraments. But in the established use of the communion, Christ is substantially present, and the body and blood of Christ are truly given to those who receive

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agnoscimus et recipimus, cujus confessionis hæc sunt verba:— ' Et baptismus et Cœna Domini sunt pignora et testimonia gratiæ, ut antea dictum est, quæ de promissione et tota redemptione nos commonefaciunt et ostendunt, beneficia evangelii ad singulos pertinere qui his ritibus utuntur, etc. Item nec admittuntur ulli ad communionem, nisi prius a pastore aut collegâ ejus auditi sint, et absoluti. In hac exploratione interrogantur et erudiuntur rudiores de tota doctrina, et deinde absolutio promulgatur. Docentur etiam homines, sacramenta esse actiones divinitus institutas, et extra usum institutum res ipsas non habere rationem sacramenti, sed in usu instituto, in hac communione vere et substantialiter adesse Christum et vere exhiberi sumenti-

the communion, and all the words of that article.

"And in order to confirm this holy and mutual consent by a strong bond, we have agreed that, as the Saxon churches have acknowledged our confession delivered in this synod, as well as that of the Bohemian Brethren, to be orthodox, we are to act towards them with the same Christian love, and equally declare them orthodox. We will at the same time abolish and bury in eternal oblivion all the contentions, troubles, and dissensions, which have hitherto impeded the progress of the Gospel, not without a great offence to many pious souls, and which have afforded to our enemies opportunities for calumniating us, and for attacking our true Christian religion; but on the contrary, we will oblige ourselves to maintain peace and tranquillity, to

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bus corpus et sanguinem Christi. Testari Christum, quod sit in eis et faciat eos sibi membra et quod abluerit eos sanguine &c. Omnia hujus articuli verba integra. Hujus autem sancti mutuique consensus, vinculum fore arbitrati sumus, convenimusque, ut quemadmodum illi nos, nostrasque Ecclesias et confessionem nostram in hac synodo publicatam, et Fratrum, orthodoxas esse testantur. Sic etiam nos illorum ecclesias, eodem Christiano amore prosequamur et orthodoxas fateamur: extremumque vale dicamus et altum silentium imponimus omnibus rixis, distractionibus, dissidiis, quibus Evangelii cursus, non sine maxima multorum piorum offensione, impeditus est et unde adversariis nostris, non levis calumiandi et veræ Christianæ religioni nostræ contradicendi, occasio sit subminis-

live in mutual love, and conjointly promote, in accordance with this our brotherly union, the edification of the church.

" At the same time, we conjointly oblige ourselves to invite and persuade our brethren to join, maintain, and promote this our unanimous and Christian union, particularly by the audition of the word of God and the use of sacraments with the congregations belonging to one as well as to the other confession ; maintaining, however, the order of the discipline as well as the rites of every church, as the present union leaves free to every church its rites and ceremonies ; because it is of little importance what rites are observed, provided the doctrine itself and the foundation of our faith and salvation

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trata. Quin potius paci et tranquillitati publicæ studere, charitatem mutuam, et operas mutuas ad ædificationem ecclesiæ, pro fraterna conjunctione nostra, præstare debemus.

" Ad hac recipimus mutuo consensu, omni studio nostris Fratribus omnibus *persuasuros,* atque eos *inviturос* ad hunc Christianum et unanimem consensum amplectendum, colendum et conservandum, illumque alendum obsignandumque, præcipue auditione verbi (frequentando tam hujus quam alterius confessionis cœtus) et sacramentorum usu : observato tamen recto ordine et gradu tam disciplinæ quam consuetudinis uniuscujusque ecclesiæ.

" Ritus autem et ceremonias unius cujusque ecclesiæ, liberos hanc concordiâ et conjunctione relinquimus. Non enim multum refert, qui ritus observatur, modo tota et incorrupta existat ipsa doctrina et fundamentum fidei ac salutis nostræ. Quem-

remain pure and unadulterated; which is also taught by the confessions of Augsburg and Saxony, and which we have also expressed in our own confession delivered at this present synod of Sandomir. Wherefore, we promise mutually to assist ourselves with advice and actions of Christian love, and to promote by all possible means the growth of the orthodox and reformed churches in Poland, Lithuania, Samogitia, &c. as members of the same body. And when they (the churches of Lithuania and Samogitia) intend to hold general synods, they shall inform us of it, and they likewise shall make no difficulties in appearing at our general synods, when they may be called to them. In order to give to this agreement and brotherly society the necessary stability, we think it proper that we should as-

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admodum et ipsa confessio Augustana et Saxonica, de ea re docent: et in hac confessione nostra, in præsenti synodo Sandomiriensi publicata, id ipsum expressimus. Quamobrem consilia officiave charitatis mutua inter nos conferri et in posterum de conservatione et incremento omnium totius regni, Lithuaniæ, Samogitiæ, piarum, orthodoxarum, et Reformatarum ecclesiarum, tanquam de uno corpore consulere, polliciti sumus ac recipimus. Et si quando synodos generales celebrabunt, nobis quoque significent, et ad nostras etiam generales vocati non gravatim veniant, si opus fuerit, atque ut Colophonem huic consensui et mutuæ concordiæ imponamus, ad hanc fraternam societatem conservandam, tuendamque non incommodum fore putamus, in locum certum convenire, ubi una ex mutuis confessionibus, compendium corporis doctrinæ (improbitate hostium

semble at certain places, to make there (whenever the enemies of the truth compel us to do so) a summary of our confessions, and publish it, in order to silence invidious people, to the great consolation of the pious, doing it in the name of all the reformed churches of Poland, Lithuania, and Samogitia which agree with our confession.

" After having mutually given each other our hands, we have made a sacred promise faithfully to maintain the peace and faith, and to promote it every day more and more for the edification of the word of God, and carefully to avoid all occasions of dissension.

" Finally, we do oblige ourselves not to seek our own interest, but, as it becomes the true servants of God, to seek only the glory of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and to spread the truth of his Gospel by words and deeds.

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veritatis ad id adacti) eliceremus et in publicum ederemus, ut invidorum hominum ora obturarentur, cum maximo omnium piorum solatio, sub titulo omnium ecclesiarum Polonicarum reformatarum, et Lithuanicarum, et Samogiticarum nostræ confessioni consentientium.

" Datis igitur junctisque dextris sancte promisimus et recipimus invicem omnes, fidem et pacem colere, favere et in dies ad ædificationem Regni Dei, magis magisque amplificare velle omnesque occasiones distractionis ecclesiarum evitaturos. Denique se immemores et oblitos sui ipsius, ut veros Dei ministros decet, solius Jesu Christi salvatoris nostri gloriam promoturos et Evangelii ipsius veritatem propagaturos, tum dictis, tum factis, recipimus. Quod ut fœlix, rectum, firmumque sit in

" And that it may last for ever prosperously, firm, and without infraction, we ardently pray to God the Father, who is the author and the abundant source of all comfort and peace, who has snatched us and our churches from the dense darkness of popery, and gifted them with the light of his pure word and holy truth, that he should bless this our holy peace, concord, union, and covenant, to the glory of his name and edification of his church. Amen.

" Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in amity." Psalm 133.

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perpetuum, oramus ardentibus votis Deum Patrem totius consolationis et pacis auctorem et fontem uberrimum, qui nos nostrasque ecclesias ex densis Papatu tenebris eripuit, donavitque puro verbi sui et sacramento veritatis lumine. Hancque nostram sanctam pacem, confessionem, conjunctionem et unionem benedicere, ad sui nominis gloriam et ecclesiæ ædificationem velit. Amen.

" Ecce quam bonum et quam jucundum habitare fratres in unum.' Psalm 133.

This act was signed by the following names: Stanislav Myszkowski, palatine of Cracow; Peter Zborowski, palatine of Sandomir; Stanislav Bninski, in the name of Lukas Gorka, palatine of Posnania, and in that of John Tomicki, castellan of Gnezno, as well as in the name of all the churches of the confession of Augsburg in Grand

Poland: Stanislav Chrzonstowski, minister of the Helvetian church of Jazlowietz, in the name of George Jazlowietzki, palatine of Russia, and all the Protestants of that province: Sigismund Myszkowski, starost of Oswiecim; Erasmus Gliczner, superintendent of the churches of the Augsburgian confession, in his own name and in that of all his fellow-ministers in Grand Poland: Nicholaus Gliczner, Lutheran senior of the district of Posnania; Andreas Prazmowski, minister of the Helvetian church of Radziejow in Cujavia; Symon Theophilus Turnowski, diaconus of the Bohemian Brethren; Stanislav Sarnicki, senior of the Helvetian churches of the district of Cracow; James Sylvius, senior of the same churches in the district of Chenciny; Paul Gilowski, *idem* of the districts of Zator and Oswiecin; Matthias Rakow, minister of Krylow, in the name of the nobles of the palatinate of Belz: Stanislav Ivan Karminski, elected rector, or notarius colloqui, of the synod; Daniel Chrobewski and Adam Rozanka, doctors of medicine, both aldermen of the town of Cracow; Christopher Trecius, senior of the Helvetian churches of the town of Cracow; Stanislav Marcianus, minister of the same church of Dziewaltow (in Lithuania), and deputy of prince Wisniowietski; Walenty Brzozowski, minister of Dobrkow, senior of the Helvetian churches of Podgorze; Andreas of Kruswitza, minister of the same confession at Lisovo in

Cujavia; Peter Tarnowski, minister at Dembnitza.*

Enactments of the synod of Posnania, which gives a further development to the resolutions passed by that of Sandomir.

According to an agreement which was made at the same synod, another meeting of that kind was convoked at Posnania on the 18th May the same year, in order to confirm and develope the enactments of the synod of Sandomir. It consisted of many noblemen and ministers be-

* This consensus has had the following editions: 1st. "*Consensus sive concordia in fide et religione Christiana, inter ecclesias evangelicas majoris et minoris Poloniæ, magnique ducatus Lithuaniæ et cæterarum ejus regni provinciarum, primo Sandomiriæ anno* 1570, *in synodo generali sancita et deinceps in aliis ac demum Vladislaviensi generali synodo* 1583, *confirmata et Serenissimis Poloniæ regibus Augusto, Henrico, et Stephano oblata, nunc cætera communi voto in publicum typis edita anno* 1586. 12*mo.*" 2d edition at Thorn, 1592, with a Polish translation by S. T. Turnowski.—3d edition at Thorn, with the addition of the enactments of the synod, which was held in that place in 1595.—The 4th edition of this consensus is added to the History of the Bohemian and Moravian churches, by Camerarius Heydelberg, in 1605.—5th edition, with a Polish translation, published at Baranow, in 1628.—6th edition, at Frankfort on the Oder, in 1704, with a German translation. It has been besides printed in several ecclesiastical works, and the learned D. E. Jablonski published in Latin a history of that celebrated transaction. A diary of that synod, written in Polish by Symon Theophilus Turnowski, then diaconus, and afterwards senior, of the Bohemian Brethren in Grand Poland, was reprinted in the History of the Churches of the Bohemian Brethren in Grand Poland, by Joseph Lukaszewicz, at Posnania, in 1835—a work full of deep research and most valuable information.

longing to the Bohemian as well as the Lutheran church; as, for instance, Lucas Gorka, palatine of Posnania; John Tomicki, castellan of Gnezno; George Israel, Laurentius, Erasmus, and Nicolaus Gliczners, &c. &c. The Helvetian churches of Little Poland did not send any special deputies, partly because they considered the Bohemian Brethren as forming part of their body, partly because they had there the ministers of their own churches in Cujavia. This synod removed many doubts which had been left by that of Sandomir, and adopted the following resolutions, comprehended in twenty articles:

The consensus of Sandomir was confirmed. The ministers of both confessions were to administer the sacraments, to preach, and to perform divine service according to the rites and customs of their respective churches, by which nobody ought to be offended. Wherever there was a minister established, the patron of that place was not to call in the minister of another congregation without the consent of the local one. The Lord's Supper was to be understood in the same manner as it had been expressed by the synod of Sandomir respecting the article of the Saxon confession sent to the council of Trent in 1551; and all expressions, words, and explanations differing from that confession were to be avoided. The ministers of one confession were not, under any pretence whatever, to draw

the members of another confession to their own. The elders of both the churches were to promote by all their means the union and the interest of those churches, and to hold for that purpose synods once a year, and more when it shall be necessary. Every dispute between the ministers of the two confessions, or members of their respective congregations, respecting changes to be introduced into the doctrine, rites, discipline, &c. of one of their churches, were to be avoided, and such things were to be left exclusively to the ministers of that church to which they belonged. All sins prohibited by the word of God were to be reprehended by sermons as well as by the pastoral superintendence of the preachers of that word; such sins as were considered idolatry, homicide, greediness, usury, discord, quarrels, maledictions, drunkenness, revels, dancing, gambling, immodest dresses, and all carnal evil passions and crimes which are mentioned by the prophets, the apostles, and the Saviour himself. The synod approved of and thought it indispensable that a discipline and ecclesiastical penalty, conformable to the word of God, should be inflicted on all the trespassing ministers and all the members of the church of God, without any regard to persons, and that it should be done not only in words but in deeds, according to the ordinance of our Lord Jesus Christ and the example of the apostles. It was

permitted that the ministers and the members of one congregation should, whenever it was necessary, exhort the ministers and the members of the other congregation to repentance and godliness. Each pastor was to watch over his own flock, and to pay a real attention to the members of his congregation.

The ministers of one confession were not to admit to the communion table the members of the other confession, without the testimony of the pastor to whose congregation they properly belonged, except at the time of a diet, of a synod, and for strangers. Those who had been excluded from one congregation were not to be admitted to the communion in the other, before they were reconciled with the church to which they had given offence. The ministers who had been deposed from their office, or excluded from one congregation, were not to be received, absolved, or reinstated in their office by the ministers of the other congregation, but were to be left to the judgment of their own church. The patrons of the churches were not to exact from the ministers any changes of rites and ceremonies without the consent of the superior ministers. All popish rites and ceremonies were by degrees, but absolutely, to be abolished; such as, for instance, exorcisms, images, relics of saints, superstitious use of candles, consecration of herbs, standards, golden and silver crosses, and similar other inven-

tions, that the word of God might not suffer by it; and that they, the united Protestant churches, might not appear to hold communion with the Antichrist and approve of his abominations. If a dispute was to arise between the ministers of both the congregations, it was to be arranged by friendly means; and should it prove impossible, it was to be referred to a general synod of all the Protestant Polish churches! The union of the Protestant churches of Poland was indeed very necessary, in order to oppose a new and formidable enemy by whom they were finally ruined; we mean the Jesuits, who were about this time introduced into Poland by Cardinal Hosius—an important event, of which we shall give an account in the next chapter.

Note.—We must not omit mentioning an attempt which was made by the Bohemian Brethren, to spread their communion in Moscovy. The same year (1570) Sigismund Augustus sent an embassy to Ivan Vassilowich, Czar of Muscovy, and celebrated for his tyranny, which was composed of four members; two of whom, John Krokowski, Palatine of Inowroclav, and Raphael Leszczynski (whom we have often mentioned), belonged to the Bohemian church. They took with them as their chaplain John Rokita, minister of that church, who was charged by the seniors of his church to endeavour to convert the Czar of Muscovy, as well as his subjects. Rokita succeeded in obtaining an audience from the Czar, and being seated on an elevated place covered with rich tapestry, had a public disputation with that monarch. The Czar addressed to him several questions about his religious doctrines, which Ro-

CHAPTER X.

INTRODUCTION OF THE JESUITS INTO POLAND BY CARDINAL HOSIUS; SKETCH OF THE CHARACTER OF THAT PRELATE; DEATH OF SIGISMUND AUGUSTUS, AND SKETCH OF HIS CHARACTER.

The Roman Catholic party having exhausted all the means they could dispose of in the country against the Protestants, and seeing their utter inability of longer maintaining their grounds against the rapid progress of the Reformation, the ultimate triumph of which in Poland seemed to be now quite certain, sought and found assistance from abroad. Cardinal Hosius, the leader of that party, considered with great justice, as the only chance of saving Romanism from its impending destruction in Poland, to call in the

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kita answered. His success was however limited to that audience; and when the embassy was leaving Moscow, Rokita received from the Czar a Slavonian book richly bound, and his observations on Rokita's answers to his questions

newly-established order of the Jesuits, who obeyed that call with alacrity, and hastened to the rescue of their church, reduced already to the very brink of ruin. Their efforts were crowned with a success, glorious to Rome, deplorable to Poland. But before we enter into a description of the establishment of that celebrated order in this country, we must say a few words concerning that remarkable individual who was chiefly instrumental in bringing about that important event.

Sketch of Hosius's life and character.

Stanislav Hosen (latinised Hosius) was born in 1504, at Cracow, from a German family, which had acquired considerable wealth by trade. He was educated partly at Vilna and partly at Cracow, but he completed his studies at Padua, where he contracted an intimate friendship with Reginald de la Pole (cardinal Polus); from Padua he went to Bologna, where he took a degree of doctor of law under Buoncompagno, afterwards Pope Gregory the Thirteenth. Having returned to his country, he was recommended by the bishop of Cracow, Tomicki, to queen Bona, who took him under her patronage and ensured his rapid preferment. The king entrusted him with the affairs of Prussia, and nominated him canon of Cracow. He early made himself conspicious by his animosity against the Protestants; however, in the beginning he did not attack them himself, but only instigated other preachers

to declaim from the pulpit against their religious innovations, imitating, as his biographer (Rescius) says, "the prudence of the serpent." He was created bishop of Culm, and intrusted with important embassies to the emperor Charles the Fifth and to Ferdinand king of the Romans, in the course of which he visited Vienna, Brussels, and Ghent, discharging the duties of his function in a most creditable manner. Being nominated bishop of Warmia, by which he became the chief of the church of Polish Prussia, and acquired a great influence in that province, he strove in vain to oppose the progress of Lutheranism, which, in spite of all his efforts, rapidly spread over that province, and became the persuasion of the majority of its inhabitants. No Roman Catholic prelate had ever combated with more zeal than Hosius the progress of the Reformation, and he advocated the most violent measures for its suppression. He carefully studied the polemical works written by the authors belonging to one Protestant confession against the followers of another, and he skilfully took advantage of the arguments by which some of these writers were infatuated enough to recommend the application of penal laws against those who erred in religious matters. He did not scruple repeatedly to advise that faith should not be kept with heretics, and that it was necessary to confute them not by arguments but by the

authority of the magistrates.* He himself made a full confession of his principles on that subject in a letter which he addressed to the notorious cardinal of Lotaryngia (Guise), congratulating him on the murder of Coligny, the news of which filled, as he says himself, his soul with an incredible joy and comfort, and he thanked at the same time the Almighty for the great boon conferred on France by the slaughter of St. Bartholomew, imploring him that he might show equal mercy to Poland.†

Yet this prelate, who entertained such abominable doctrines, was in every other respect adorned with the highest qualities that honour

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* "*Nulla cum eis ineatur disputatio, sed simul cum eos (hereticos) tales esse constitit, statim condemnentur, eos non stylo sed sceptro magistratum coercendos esse.*" Hosii opera, page 620.

† "*Cum illustrissimus Cardinalis Senonensis, pro sua in me benevolentia et humanitate singulari, misso ad me nuncio me certiorem reddisset, extinctam esse tamen gravissimam illam Galliarum pestem, per quam totis jam decem et amplius annis innumerabilibus cladibus regnum illud affectum et in summas calamitates adductum fuerat, Coligneum dico, quo uno haud scio, an unquam tellus produxerit hominem pestilentiorem; ita sum quasi e gravi somno quodam expergefactus et ex tenebris in lucem quodam modo productus, ut incredibilem quondam animi recreationem sentirem, prope modum, ut abstersus dolor animi, quo confectus jam fere fueram, videretur: neque me tenere potui; quin exclamarem: Justus es Domine, et rectum est judicium tuum. Quod enim potuit esse magis justum judicium? Quæ major esse justitia, quam ut quod aliis fecerat sceleratus ille, vicissim illud*

mankind; and although the eulogy of Bayle, who calls him the greatest man that Poland ever produced, is certainly overrated, there is but one opinion about his eminent talents, piety, and virtues. His faults were therefore not his own, but only the unavoidable consequence of the precepts of his church, which he zealously but conscientiously followed. His fervour for that church was such, that he declared in one of his polemical works that the Scriptures, if it were not for the authority of the same church, would have no more weight than the fables of Esop.* He was nominated cardinal by Pope Pius the Fourth

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illud ab alio pateretur. Quam cuperem ut hoc ante decem annos illi contigisset, priusquam adeo crudele facinus illud perpetrasset. Verum Dei misericordiæ tempus præscribendum non est, quin potius infinitas illi gratias agere debemus, quod eo tempore, quod illi maxime visum est opportunum, et a tanta peste patriam tuam liberatam et indignum facinus in fratrem tuum designatum, tandem aliquando, quamvis leviore quam quod meritus erat, siccarius ille, supplicio voluerit vindicatum. Quem ego præcor ut gaudium hoc tuum, in dies majore lætitia constare voluerit ut lætis novis quotidie succedant lætiora. Simul et illud supplex ab eo petere non intermitto quo meam quoque patriam misericordiæ suæ oculis respiciat, et ex novi regis electione, qui sit divinæ ejus majestati gratus et fortis Catholicæ fidei defensor aliquod me consolationis capere faciat, nulla mora longiore interposita." Vide Hosii Epis. Carolo Cardinali Lotharingo, gratulatur extinctem esse hostem acerrimum evangelii Coligneum. Sublaci 4ta Septembris 1572. Hosii opera Coloniæ, 1639—11, 340.

* Vide Bayle, article Hosius.

in 1561, and appointed president of the council of Trent, and he acquitted himself of this commission to the greatest satisfaction of the Pope. Having been created grand penitentiary of the church, he spent the last years of his life at Rome, where he died in 1579, in the 76th year of his age.*

His political opinions.

Hosius was a no less consistent Romanist in politics than he was in religion. He maintained that the subjects had no rights whatever, but that they owed a blind submission to the so-

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* The principal works of Hosius are: "*Confessio Catholicæ Fidei Christianæ, vel potius explicatio confessionis, a patribus facta, quæ in synodo provinciali quæ habita est Petricoviæ*" *anno* 1551. Moguntiæ 1557, vide note of page 172. Rescius, his biographer, says that it was published in different languages during the author's life time thirty-two times:—"*De expresso verbo Dei.*" Dillingen, in 1551; the same in English: "Of the Expresse wordes of God: a shorte but a most excellente treatyse, and very necessary for this tyme." Newly translated into English, Lovan, by John Bogard in 1567.—"*Propugnatio Christianæ Catholicæque doctrinæ.*" Antw. 1559.—"*Confutatio prolegomenon Brentii,*" *Paris*, 1560. The same in English. "A most excellent treatyse of the Begynnyng of Heresyes in oure tyme. Translated out of Latin into English by Richard Shacklock. Antw. 1565."—"*De communione sub utraque specie.*"—"*De sacerdotum conjugio.*"—"*De missa vulgari lingua celebranda.*" The best edition of his works is considered that of Cologne, in 1584, which contains also his letters, written to many eminent persons of his time. His life, written by Rescius (Reszka), was published at Rome in 1587.

vereign, who was responsible to none for his acts, and that it was a sin to judge him.* Like all other Romanist writers, he ascribed the political innovations to the doctrines of the Reformation, and expressly stated that it was the reading of the Scriptures which rendered people seditious, and he particularly inveighed against those women who read the Bible.†

Yet although he strongly advocated unconditional submission to the will of the sovereign, he departed himself from that principle whenever it became contrary to the interests of Rome. Thus although the reformed church of Cracow was erected in consequence of an express authorization of the monarch, he endeavoured to excite Krasinski, bishop of Cracow, to use every means for overturning that establishment; and we shall have many opportunities of bringing forward several instances of his utter disregard of every principle whenever the interests of the Roman church were concerned. His deep learning, which made him universally

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* "*Obedientiam cœcam esse debere—justitia est ut præcepta majorum non discutiantur. Prima sedis a nemine judiatur. Principem subjectorum judicio permittere peccatum esse.*" Apud Rescius, Vita Hosii, Romæ, 1578.

† "*Rude vulgus etiam et indiscretum intolerabili quædam superbia, manibus et pedibus illotis, impudenter ad sacrarum litterarum accedere, quin et stultas hoc mulierculas sibi arrogare videmus.*" Hosii opera, page 640.

considered as one of the first luminaries of the Roman church, could not however free his mind from the unchristian notions inculcated by the same church, that voluntary self-torment is acceptable to the Father of all mercy; and being a rigid observer of those practices which are more in accordance with pagan rites than the mild precepts of Christianity, and which that church recommends, he frequently lacerated his own body by severe flagellations, spilling his own blood with the same fervour as he would have spilled that of the opponents of the Pope.*

Such was the celebrated individual who, seeing that all his efforts at combating the progress of the Reformation in Poland were fruitless, adopted a measure for which he deserved the eternal gratitude of Rome, and the curses of Poland. He called to his assistance the newly established order of Jesuits, which, by its admirable organization, zeal, and activity, but chiefly perhaps by that reckless disregard of every principle which stood in its way to the attainment of its object, succeeded in saving Romanism from impending ruin over all Europe, and even in restoring its sway in many places where it had already been annihilated.

Introduction of the Jesuits into Poland.

The order despatched, as early as in 1558, one of their members, named Canisius, to Poland, with the object of examining the state of the country.

* Vide Rescius.

Canisius reported that it was deeply infected with heresy, ascribing that state of things chiefly to the aversion of the king to repress Protestantism by sanguinary measures.* Canisius had many conferences with the heads of the Roman clergy in Poland, with the view of establishing his order in that country; but he returned without obtaining any positive result from his mission. It was only in 1564 that Hosius, perceiving on his return from Trent the increase of Protestantism in his own diocese, addressed himself to the celebrated general of the Jesuits, Lainez, with the request of sending him some members of his order. Lainez immediately complied with that request, and despatched several Jesuits from Rome, commanding at the same time a few others from Germany to join them. Hosius located these welcome guests at Braunsberg, a little town situated in his diocese, and richly endowed the nascent establishment, which was soon to spread over all Poland. An attempt was made in 1567 to introduce the Jesuits into Elbing; but the Protestant inhabitants of that town manifested such a violent opposition against the admission of an order

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* "*Constans erat opinio indulgentiam Regis obesse quam plurimum. De severe impiis puniendis, scalpeloque coercendi peste sermonem respuebat omnem. Ea impunitate nequissimi homines abutebantur.*" Vide Historia Societatis Jesu. Ant. Sachino, part ii. page 61.

which arrived with the avowed determination of exterminating heresy, that Hosius, who deplored the infatuation of Elbing, which, as he maintained, rejected its own salvation, was obliged to desist from his project. During the reign of Sigismund Augustus, who seems not to have been favourably disposed towards the Jesuits, they did not make any rapid progress, and it was only six years after their arrival in Poland that Konarski, bishop of Posnania, induced by Plotina, papal nuncio in Poland, established them in the above-mentioned town; and having persuaded the authorities of the city to give them the church of St. Stanislav, with two hospitals and a school, endowed them at the same time with an estate, and made them a present of his library. They insinuated themselves into the favour of the princess Anna, sister of Sigismund Augustus, who promoted their interests with all her influence, and it was probably she who induced her husband, king Stephen Battory, to patronise that order. The primate Uchanski, whom we have seen strongly inclined towards the doctrines of the Reformation, endeavoured, when the prospects of their speedy establishment in Poland were marred by the demise of Sigismund Augustus, to obliterate the suspicions of Rome by the display of a great zeal for its interests, and he became the great patron of the new order. His example was followed by many bishops, who relied for the defence of their

dioceses more on the intrigues of their new allies, than on the efforts of the local clergy. The rapid increase of the number and influence of the Jesuits belongs to the epoch which is the subject of the second volume of our work, and which is only a continued picture of the unceasing intrigues and agitation by which that order succeeded in crushing the anti-Romanist party in Poland, sacrificing the national prosperity and the most vital interests of the country to the restoration of papal supremacy, and we shall have indeed but too many opportunities of recurring to that melancholy but instructive subject.

Death of Sigismund Augustus, and sketch of his character.

Sigismund Augustus died on the 7th July 1572, at Knyszyn, a little town on the frontiers of Poland and Lithuania, and which was a favourite retreat of his. His demise without issue established in Poland practically the election of the monarch, which already existed in its constitution, but which was constantly made in favour of the natural heir of the deceased sovereign, as long as the Jaguellonian line continued uninterrupted. Sigismund Augustus was endowed by nature with many excellent qualities, which could not be stifled even by the effeminate education which his mother Bona Sforza gave him, as it seems, for the purpose of converting him into a tool for her schemes. His studies were, however, not neglected, and he was a good mathematician, a proficient Latin scholar, and was perfectly master of

the German and Italian languages. He was also a great patron of national literature and of learned men, many of whom he attached to his person. He was of a very kind and amiable disposition, and strongly opposed, by principle as well as by character, to every despotic and cruel measure.

His chief fault was a great irresolution of character, and want of decision, which exercised on several occasions a prejudicial influence on the affairs of the country. This indolence, which he manifested on some political transactions of great importance, did not, however, extend to the private affairs of his subjects, to which he always attended with an unwearied diligence. He was very unfortunate in his domestic relations; and as these relations were on the point of exercising a decisive influence on the religious affairs of Poland, we must not pass them over in silence.

Sigismund Augustus, who was born in 1520, married for the first time Elizabeth of Austria (daughter of Ferdinand, king of Hungary and afterwards emperor, and niece to Charles the Fifth). She was a beautiful, virtuous, and accomplished princess; but, in spite of these advantages, she did not secure the attachment of her husband, and her mother-in-law, queen Bona Sforza, hated her with such a violence, that the death of this unfortunate princess, which happened in 1545, excited a strong suspicion of being caused by poison administered to her at the instigation of the same

Bona. We have already described his second marriage with Barbara Radziwill, and the opposition which it raised in the country. Barbara died in 1551, and a general suspicion was raised that queen Bona was again instrumental in the death of her second daughter-in-law. The king deeply regretted his much-beloved consort, and preserved a fond remembrance of her during the remainder of his life. His mother induced him to marry, for the third time, Catherine of Austria, dowager duchess of Mantua, and sister to his first queen. This was a most unfortunate alliance, as the new queen, who was of a plain exterior, and moreover afflicted with epilepsy, soon inspired an unsurmountable aversion in her royal husband, who lived entirely separated from her. It is indeed quite unaccountable what motives could have induced Bona to promote the conclusion of that preposterous marriage, for which it was necessary even to obtain a dispensation from the Pope, as the parties were related through the king's first marriage. Be it as it may, this circumstance was not only prejudicial to the happiness of the monarch himself, but also to the interests of the country, as the king dying without issue, the realm was threatened with troubles resulting from the contest of parties in the election of a new sovereign. The leaders of the Protestants thought that, by inducing Sigismund Augustus to repudiate his consort, they would obviate that

danger, and moreover, accelerate a breach between him and the court of Rome, which being devoted to the Austrian interests, would take the part of a princess belonging to that house. Ostrorog, whom we have frequently mentioned as one of the most prominent leaders of the Protestant party, proposed to the senate of Poland, that as it was a very important consideration for the welfare of the country that the monarch should not die without issue, he ought to be requested to restore the queen to her rights, in order to give the nation a hope for the continuation of the royal lineage, and to prevent the scandal resulting from the dissensions of the royal house.

Ostrorog's motion was approved by the senate, and the primate Uchanski, who presided over it, made on the following day an official report of this proceeding to the monarch. He answered that he was prevented from living with the queen by his doubts about the legitimacy of a connexion with the sister of his first wife.

Uchanski assembled the bishops, and having communicated to them the scruples of the monarch maintained the justice of a divorce. This was zealously opposed by the papal legate Commendoni, who, after having produced many arguments in order to prove that the papal dispensation had removed all legal impediments to the marriage of Sigismund Augustus with his sister-in-law, spoke

at a great length of the misfortunes of England, which he had witnessed himself, and which he ascribed to the divorce of Henry the Eighth, and accused the bishops of that country, but particularly the archbishop (Cranmer), of having induced the king to make that step.* Commendoni succeeded in persuading the bishops to adopt his views on that question. The king having ordered him to his presence, represented to him his unfortunate situation, entreating him, even with tears, to assist him in obtaining from the Pope a divorce; but Commendoni succeeded in persuading him to desist from his project, particularly by representing to him the dangers which might accrue to his kingdom if the emperor, irritated by the repudiation of his daughter, should excite and assist Muscovy, as well as the other enemies of Poland.

We have extracted these details from Commendoni's life by Gratiani, which, being in accordance with the irresolute character of Sigismund Augustus, seem to be not without foun-

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* Commendoni visited England immediately after the accession of queen Mary, being delegated secretly, by the orders of the Pope, to examine into the state of affairs in this country and to promote the interests of Rome. It is needless to add, that by the misfortunes of England he meant the spread and establishment of Protestantism.

dation. Yet, in spite of that irresolute character, we can scarcely doubt that if Sigismund's life had been spared for some years longer, he would have finally established the doctrines of the Reformation as the religion of the country. His own mind was evidently unsettled respecting the principal dogmas held by the different Protestant churches, but it seems that those of the Helvetian church, followed by the greatest part of the influential nobility, would have prevailed. The king's great object appears to have been to effect the Reformation of the Polish church through its own instrumentality, by which many dangers, troubles, and collisions would have been avoided, and a national ecclesiastical establishment similar to that of England established, instead of the Romanist one. This plan, strongly advocated by John Laski, was supported by many eminent persons in the country, and Sigismund Augustus strenuously promoted it by nominating to episcopal dignities persons known for their bias to the doctrines of the Reformation. Such were, for instance, Drohojowski, bishop of Vladislav, Krasinski, bishop of Cracow, and Uchanski, archbishop of Gnezno and primate of the realm. We repeat, therefore, our conviction, that had the life of Sigismund Augustus been spared for a longer time, the reformation of the Polish church would have been effected

without any commotion, as all the bishoprics, or at least a great majority of them, would have been intrusted to Protestants.

END OF VOL. I.

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